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WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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THE VIRGINIA WASHINGTON COLLEGE AND REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE newspapers state that a mass-meeting was holden at Cooper Institute, New York, on the evening of the 2d of March, for the purpose of raising an Educational Fund for Washington College, Virginia, of which the ex-Confederate Gen. Lee is President. The papers also state that Rev. Henry Ward Beecher has recently given one thousand dollars to that institution. Mr. Beecher is also reported to have stated at the meeting at Cooper Institute that "if he had been born and bred in the South, he might have done as Gen. Lee did at the breaking out of the war."

A very high authority in matters of Christian conduct declares all things lawful not always expedient. It may be perfectly lawful for a Christian minister to give all the money he can earn to aid in the support of schools to educate the youth of our land in the theology of Tom Paine and Voltaire; but whether such conduct would be becoming a man professing to be acting under a commission from the Most High God, making it his duty to be instant, in season and out of season, in instructing the people everywhere to be holy and pure, and avoid the very appearance of evil, is a question of another and very different character. It is unquestionably legal for a very popular clergyman of a large city congregation of loyal and true men, to give one thousand dollars to an institution of learning under control of a traitor leader of a rebellious army, to teach the youth of the South to believe the National government an oppressor, to be destroyed the first favorable opportunity; but the propriety of such a course, in a Christian minister professing to believe the rebellion unnecessary and sinful, is a matter about which loyal men will have and express an opinion of their own. It may be no violation of law for a clergyman of one of the loyal States and cities of the North, whose son was a gallant soldier in the Union army during the recent bloody contest with rebellion, to beg money to aid in teaching the rising generation in ten States in this Union to believe that son of his was, during all that time, engaged in a brilliant career of robbery and arson; but how he can look that son of his in the face, and claim to have been honest in such an act, is quite another question. It may not be in violation of any statute law for a minister to violate the command of Him under whose commission he claims to act, to go into all the world and preach the gospel of Liberty to all men, to lend the eloquence of his tongue in aid of institutions of learning that instruct their pupils to believe the colored race only a higher order of the brute creation, and Christian ministers who have preached a gospel of deliverance to bondmen, as infidels deserving eternal damnation; but the propriety of such a course, when squared by the right rules of Christian conduct, is a matter about which even the world's people will have their opinion.

Being one of those world's people who have opinions, I cannot let the opportunity pass of calling the attention of Rev. Mr. Beecher to the opinions many entertain of his conduct in the matter mentioned. Most of the world's people think Mr. Beecher has not obeyed the Christian injunction of "avoiding the very appearance of evil," and that for some cause or other, in giving money to uphold a college presided over by a man unquestionably guilty of the highest and most infamous crime known to the laws, he has been guilty of conduct highly censurable in a Christian minister. They cannot see how it is a minister of a gospel of holiness and purity in conduct, can consistently ask a religious, loyal, sensible people to aid in keeping up institutions of learning under the control of men known to be guilty of crimes punishable with death. They are just ill-natured enough to assert that his conduct in donating money to Lee's college, is just as improper and inconsistent with his character as a true Christian and minister, as would have been the act of sending his son to schools taught by known thieves and libertines, to be trained up in habits of honesty and purity of character. They say, and say justly too, that treason is legally as infamous as theft, and the entrusting intelligent and leading traitors with the education of youth, just as dangerous to the future peace and purity of the youth as would be the entrusting of that work to thieves and libertines. They say that men who violate the criminal laws of the land are unfit to be entrusted with the great interests of education, and schools under charge of such persons, instead of being worthy of the patronage and confidence of Christian ministers, ought to be discountenanced and denounced by them. Ministers, above all other men, should be careful of lending themselves to the work of entrusting the education of the rising generation to criminal and disloyal hands.

Now, I assert that no loyal Union man, who upheld, from principle, the National government, and who understands the true state of affairs at Washington College, in Virginia, can consistently give one dollar to aid in its maintenance and support; and no Christian minister, who honestly believes in the sinfulness of slavery, can, consistently with his Christian profession, lend himself to the work of soliciting subscriptions for such a purpose. No minister would for one moment pretend it is consistent with his professions to give money for the purpose of teaching infidelity. Neither can a loyal Union man consistently give money to *aid* in teaching disloyalty. The Washington College of Virginia is a disloyal school, and all its teachings, surroundings, and influences are disloyal. They cannot possibly be otherwise so long as that institution is as at present organized. It is under control of rebels, kept up by rebels for the education of rebels. It is the institution where the children of the rich and powerful leaders of the recent contest send their children on purpose to be educated in devotion to the lost cause. The leader of that cause being the head of the institution, and directing the sentiments to be inculcated in the minds of the pupils, it can never be expected he would teach them to believe he himself was criminal or wrong in the course he pursued during the four or five years of the great rebellion. He is a man with like passions of other men, and it would require something more than a man to teach one's friends to believe he is a criminal, and had for a period of five years led men to battle in the cause of crime and treason.

But the surroundings are not the only evidences of the disloyalty of that college. It makes no secret of the fact that its teachings are such as the true men of the loyal States can never for a moment tolerate. That is the case all over the South. As an evidence of the historical teachings the people of the South are now drinking in, I will state the following is the substance of a question and answer in a leading school history:

Question.—What caused the recent war between the North and the South?

Answer.—The tyranny of the North.

Such is Southern education, and such the sentiment Rev. Henry Ward Beecher asks the loyal soldiers of the North to aid in teaching Southern youth. Dare Rev. Henry Ward Beecher tell and teach his own children to believe it true the recent rebellion was caused by the tyranny of the North? And if he dare not teach his own children such doctrine as truth, how dare he give one thousand dollars to pay for teaching Southern children such falsehood? And if he believes the assertion false, how can he, as a minister of the Gospel of Truth, go about the city of New York, and beg contributions for the purpose of aiding in recording in the pages of history a falsehood and a lie? Dare the reverend pastor of Plymouth Church tell the gallant returned soldiers of the Union army they were engaged, during the recent bloody struggle, in the work of fastening tyranny upon a gallant people struggling to free themselves from oppression? And if not, why ask those gallant Union soldiers to pay money to be used in the work of instructing Confederate soldiers, and the sons of Confederate soldiers, to believe such to be the truth? These are questions the world's people are constantly asking themselves, when thinking over these matters.

I might go further with this subject, and point out the false, rebellious theology taught by these Southern traitor institutions; but will rest satisfied, for the present, with exhibiting the false history the reverend pastor of Plymouth Church seems to be willing should be taught in Southern colleges.

I will now close by saying the reverend gentleman's singular remark respecting the possibility of his doing as Lee did, had he been born South, is proof positive of the certainty that "evil communications corrupt good manners." Dr. Beecher's trip with, and attachment to Andrew Johnson, must certainly have corrupted him. On no other ground can we account for the conduct of the man who was once one of the brightest champions of freedom in America. CHARLES E. MOSS.

LETTER FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

To the Editor of the Standard:

AND so the good craft, Impeachment, is fairly launched at length! More—it has weighed anchor, and is dropping down the stream. Heaven speed the voyage, and bring it to a safe and propitious end. So pray all loyal hearts!

Who would have thought of this, one short month ago, when impeachment was pronounced stone-dead—only escaping burial because of the radical element in the land which refused it sepulture. But, with his own rash hand, the President has revived the so-called corpse, and lo! these dry bones live. The man seems perfectly infatuated. Were he courting just this result, he could not have managed more adroitly or systematically. But "whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad;" a trite quotation, but never more applicable than in this case.

Well, we have come to it at last—this Impeachment business. Strange—and yet not strange—but does it not always happen that the country, finally, has to come up to, and close in with, the measures of what is called *Radicalism?* A few strong, firm, earnest men, standing upon the watch-towers of the nation, and looking calmly into the future with their far-seeing eyes, cry out, "The morning cometh, *and also the night!*" Hopeful of the final result, watching for the morning and still prophesying it, they yet forsee the night which must precede—the night of struggle, of hand-to-hand grapple with wrong, without which no dawn of peace and gladness is possible. But who heeds the warning—until, indeed, the night is fairly closing in upon us, and there is darkness which may be felt? But Wisdom is justified of her children. Even John Brown's insanity—once so-called—is now recognized as pure adherence to principle, and the soul of the firm, brave, loyal old man is still marching on, conquering and to conquer.

So we learn, little by little. The nation seems like an infant unconscious of its own capacities, putting forward cautious feet, and every moment afraid of stumbling. But are we never to learn to walk? Thank heaven, we *have* taken some noble, forward steps; but, like babies with nurses at their backs, has it not been because we have been pushed from behind by events too potent to be gainsaid or resisted?

In this matter of impeachment, however, we are inclined, individually, to be magnanimous, and to concede—since it has actually come at last—that, possibly, the matter was better deferred, owing to the fact (though questioned by some), that the nation has not seemed entirely ready for such proceeding until now, the President having, in the opinion of many, violated no legal enactment. Consequently, the chances might have been those of failure in case impeachment had been fairly started. To be sure, this view of the subject does not help the matter much in one sense, and that the highest—but nobody pretends that, as a nation, our standard of right and wrong is just what it should be. More's the pity! To tell the truth, we are pre-eminently a law-loving people. We can bear, unfortunately, moral defections and can resist moral objections; but when the Law of the Land comes to be the sacrifice to lay upon the altar, instantly loyal blood asserts itself, and we are as one man in our devotion to the Right. Heaven grant that the day may some time arrive when moral defections shall be as culpable in our eyes as legal, and when "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," shall have their proper value in our eyes; when Expediency shall cease to be our watchword, and our only policy shall be that of Righteousness, Justice and Truth. All honor to the army of noble men and women—the Radicals of the land—who are working for this noble consummation!

The writer of this has, for many years, been a diligent and interested reader of the *Liberal Christian*, and has been ready to accord to it a spirit of toleration and courtesy which, we are sorry to perceive, seems to be upon the decrease. Witness, for instance, the *illiberal* and *unchristian* flings in its last issue at the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. Such utterances are as unbecoming as they are unjust. They are unworthy the spirit of Liberal Christianity; and so far from accomplishing good, are productive of evil. A candid, manly criticism of a particular party is one thing; a disposition to ridicule and belittle its organ, is another.

This wisdom is not from above:
Oh, let us speak the truth *in love*—
Blending the serpent with the dove!

An impromptu rhyme—but it will do as a *finale* to this already too lengthy letter.

Very truly, yours,

C. A. M.

Fitchburg, Mass., March 3d, 1868.

FLORIDA.

LETTER FROM N. C. DENNETT, ESQ.

TALLAHASSEE, Florida, Feb. 15, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

DEAR SIR: Enclosed you have a copy of a letter sent by members of the Constitutional Convention to the *Tribune*, for publication. If the *Tribune* does not publish it I wish you would.

In reply to Mr. Robinson, I would state that I *never* drank a glass of intoxicating liquor in my life, and never bought a drop for any person, except a little wine, by order of the attending physician, for my beloved wife, who was also deeply interested in the temperance movement, and at the time of her death was one of the Vice-Presidents of a large and flourishing temperance association in Jacksonville, Florida.

I have never offered three per cent. for money. I am not a candidate for any office. It was only by the urgent request of the colored men that I consented to come here. Every charge of Mr. Robinson is false.

Most respectfully, N. C. DENNETT.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION,
TALLAHASSEE, Florida, February 13, 1868.

HON. N. C. DENNETT:

The undersigned members of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida, notice with regret and indignation a letter published in the New York *Tribune* of the 5th inst., and dated at Tallahassee, January 25th, 1868, reflecting upon the integrity and personal conduct of Hon. N. C. Dennett, a member of this body, and other prominent Republicans of this State, and calculated to bring odium upon the Convention and the Republican party. It is due to ourselves and the State, as well as to Mr. Dennett, that we express our unqualified denial of each and every charge in such letter, and to pronounce them false and calumnious, and to utter our condemnation of the course of Solon Robinson during his sojourn here, in becoming a partizan of non-resident adventurers against the true men of the State, who have by years of philanthropic and patriotic effort secured the respect and confidence of all true Republicans, and by their unswerving advocacy of freedom and equal rights, endeared themselves to the freedmen.

We ask that the *Tribune* shall publish this brief denial of the vindictive and malicious attacks of its mendacious correspondent.

HORATIO JENKINS, Jr., President.

LYMAN W. ROWLY,
JOHN W. BUTLER, } 1st District.
GEORGE J. ALDEN,
W. K. CESSNA, 11th District.
M. L. STEAMS, 4th District.
T. W. OSBORN, 6th District.
J. L. CAMBELL.
E. FORTUNE.
C. R. MOBLEY, 17th District.
E. D. HOUSE, 15th District.
ABRAM CHANDLER, 15th District.
ROLAND T. ROMBAUER, 8th District.
HOMER BRYAN, 3d District.
W. J. PURMAN, 3d District.
S. B. CONOVER, 12th District.
J. E. A. DAVIDSON, 4th District.
O. B. HART, 14th District.
L. C. ARMISTEAD.
J. W. CHILDS.
B. M. MCRAE.
THOMAS URQUHART, 9th District.
SAMUEL J. PEARCE, 16th District.
AUBURN ENVIN, 12th District.
JNO. W. POWELL.
DAVID MIZELL.

CONGRESSIONAL ELOQUENCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

FEW members of Congress seem to understand the true theory and practice of eloquence. Instead of laboring to compress in the smallest possible space their ideas, they act as if eloquence consisted in using the greatest possible number of words to say nothing in. During the recent debate on the subject of impeachment, but few truly eloquent speeches were delivered. We had many able ones, but the terse, nervous brevity of true eloquence, in nearly every instance, was wanting. There were, however, one or two notable exceptions. Gen. Shanks, the former friend of Gen. Fremont, who was one of the first men of the nation to appreciate fully what was necessary to carry the country safely through the great crisis of the rebellion, has the honor of delivering almost the only truly eloquent speech on that occasion. He took the floor on the morning of the 27th, and in a one minute's speech presented, in nervous, sententious brevity, the whole case. I know of no more effective detail of the President's career, and true statement of the duty of Congress in the premises. As it is condensed into the smallest possible number of words, I send you a copy of his speech, *in extenso*, as a rare contribution to the literature of the nation. The following is the full report taken from the *Congressional Globe:*

"Mr. SPEAKER: My opinion is that, in this grave emergency, this House should speak but one word and strike but one blow, and I desire that the blow should come first. I am tired, sir, of this protracted discussion, which postpones an hour that the people have long desired to see. I am in favor of the official death of Andrew Johnson without debate. I am not surprised that one who began his Presidential career in drunkenness should end it in crime."

That short, sententious speech tells the whole story much better than any one speech delivered on that occasion. It was delivered with a force and dignity seldom equalled, and received the encomiums of all present. In that little unpremeditated speech we have one more truly eloquent speech added to the literature of America. Would that, at all times, and under all circumstances, the timid, faint-hearted members of Congress could remember that the people desire them to "speak but ONE WORD and strike but ONE BLOW," in the work of removing a President "WHO BEGAN HIS PRESIDENTIAL CAREER IN DRUNKENNESS" and is sure speedily to "END IT IN CRIME," if our Representatives and Senators promptly discharge their duty.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

THE PRESIDENCY—AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEW.

HAMPSTEAD, NEAR LONDON,
12th February, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR: If, in the present position of internal politics in the United States, an Englishman can without offence offer an opinion, I request you will accept that of one who is a sincere well-wisher to your country—who, in many respects, entertains towards it a high admiration, and who has made the principles of government one of his chief life studies.

The matter which induces me to write this letter is the very important question of the best course to be adopted with reference to your President, and to that office generally. While strongly sympathizing with the best portion of your countrymen in their misfortune in having such a man as Mr. Johnson at the head of the State, I venture to remind them that all sound principles of government and the teachings of history are opposed to an interference by the Legislature with the Executive; that such a proceeding is destructive of responsibility; and that the only safe and legitimate course is for the Legislature to adopt means by which, when it has deep cause for dissatisfaction with the effective head of the Government, it can remove him and appoint another in his place. In England, we have the power of applying this simple and effective remedy by the ability of Parliament, in effect, to remove the Premier and to nominate his successor; and I can see no hope for the cessation of periodic troubles in the United States until the like power is possessed by the Congress with regard to your President.

Very much would be accomplished if the authority of Congress were limited to the power of deposing an existing President, and of appointing a temporary President to act only during the time that must necessarily elapse before a new election could be made; but I am strongly of opinion that the power not only of deposition, but of election, should rest with Congress.

No doubt it was the intention of the framers of your Constitution—that grand work which, considering the time when it was framed, is wonderfully free from error—to have, in the President, a power wholly distinct from that of Congress; but, with great deference, I venture to think that this was a mistake, and that experience shows that the existence of independent powers in any nation, sooner or later leads to tumult and revolution; and that, for a government to be good and stable, there must always be one supreme authority.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

FREDERIC HILL.

QUERIES.

From The Philadelphia Morning Post.

IF a President is never to be impeached, pray why is there a constitutional provision for that extreme process?

If a President is to execute merely those laws which may happen to suit his convenience, or to square with his convictions, pray what was the use of having a Congress at all?

If a President may, with impunity, make the Secretary of War his mere creature, pray what is the use of having a War Department at all, and why not do its business in some back office of the White House?

If a President may create a War Secretary or destroy the same officer at his pleasure, what is to prevent his dealing as he pleases with the whole army?

And if with the Army, why not with the Navy?

And if with the Navy, why not with the Treasury?

And if with the Treasury, why not with the State Department?

And if with the State Department, why not with the Post-Office?

And if with the Post-Office, why not with the Department of the Interior?

And if with the Department of the Interior, why not with the Attorney-General?

And if with the Attorney-General, why not with the Supreme Court?

And if with the Supreme Court, why not with the Senate?

And if with the Senate, why not with the House?

And if with the House, why not with the voters in all the Congressional districts?

Thus the President is impeached because he has substantially claimed supreme and irresponsible control over the lives, and the liberties, and all the possessions of all the citizens of this Republic. The right to break one law implies the right to void the Presidential rheum upon the whole statute-book—to imprison, hang, behead, banish, confiscate—to be the autocrat of the whole land, with nobody to question his authority or to dispute his personal will.

So we end as we began:

1. Is a President ever to be impeached?
2. And if a President is ever to be impeached, why not Andrew Johnson?

A CHAPTER OF CHIVALRIES.

A SUCCESSION OF OUTRAGES—A COLORED MAN SHOT—ANOTHER SHOT AND WHIPPED—A COLORED WOMAN RAPED—IMPUNITY OF THE CRIMINALS.

From the Nashville (Tenn.) Times, Feb. 25.

WE have lately been put in possession of the most reliable information from Humphreys county, detailing the particulars of a series of outrages in the neighborhood of Johnsonville, which we can only say are a disgrace to the State and to humanity. We give below an unvarnished statement of the facts. We would hope, for the honor of our race, that the facts were untrue, or, at least, exaggerated, but they come to us too well authenticated to admit of doubt or denial.

On the 20th inst., a man by the name of Searcy had some hogs stolen, and, believing they had been stolen by John Marabel (colored), obtained from C. E. Harris, a Justice of the Peace, a warrant to search Marabel's house for the meat. He placed the warrant into the hands of one Dearer, whom he accompanied for the purpose of assisting in the search. Upon arriving at Marabel's house, in the night, they called him up, and announced the object of their visit. He opened the door, and told them they were at liberty to search. Dearer then went in the house, leaving Searcy outside with Marable. The latter moved off a short distance, explaining the necessity for his absence a short time, when he was ordered to halt by Searcy, who immediately after fired at him with a double-barrel gun, loaded with buckshot and a double charge of powder. Searcy then went into the house, where he found some meat, which he claimed as his. Dr. Thomas Alford was called to see the wounded man, who pronounced him not mortally wounded, but able to stand immediate trial for stealing the meat. Marabel was then placed in a wagon and taken over a very rough road before Esquire Harris. The wounded man begged them to take his horse and all his property as security for his appearance when he got better, but they would not. A lawyer was brought from Waverly to prosecute the dying man, who insisted upon a trial of the case, though Marabel tried to put it off, as he could hardly speak, and was unable to procure the witnesses by whom he could prove that he had bought the meat found in his house. The trial commenced, Marabel lying in the wagen, and he was bound over in the sum of $250; three persons present going on his bond.

After the trial Searcy surrendered himself to the justice, insisting on an immediate trial for the shooting, as it would save him fifty or sixty dollars to keep the matter out of court. The justice, however, told him he would have nothing to do with the case, as he had done nothing that was wrong. Marabel died at six o'clock the next morning.

On the same night another knightly outrage was perpetrated in the same county. Anderson Trotter, colored, employed as a laborer by Mr. Troney, was taken from the premises of the latter by Ben. Trotter, George Trotter, Isom Trotter, Michael Trotter, Richard Trotter, and Doff. Bonham, who had handkerchiefs tied over their faces, who carried him into the woods, tied his hands behind him, and gave him an opportunity to run. Upon his making off, as he supposed to escape being murdered, they commenced firing at him, and shot him down. He fell, when two of the party ran up *and commenced whipping him with switches.* Wounded and tied, the poor man begged them to tell what he had done to offend them, but they merely told him to get up and make off, giving him twenty-four hours to leave the county under peril of his life. He had always borne a good character, and was furnished transportation on the Northwestern road to this city, where his wounds received proper attention.

On the next morning after the foregoing, a colored woman, on her way to Johnsonville, was assaulted on the road by a white man, who dragged her from the road, tore her clothes almost off her person, choked her till she was helpless, and ravished her body.

It is humiliating to record these outrages by beings with a white skin and the form of manhood, *but they are facts.* Is there not honor enough in the land to bring such offenders to punishment?

HELPING THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of the Tribune.

SIR: I notice in the *Tribune* an article commendatory of the charitable donation, by H. W. Beecher, in aid of a Collegiate Institution in Virginia. Now, I have spent three months in the unreconstructed States, visiting them all, and watching closely the temper, tone, and character of the people. I have been in every city, and spent a large portion of my time in small villages, during all of which time I have noticed nothing but hostility toward you and all of your people—so far as the white population is concerned. They hate the North and all Northern institutions, and many of them openly avow their determination, whenever able, to resist the government by force of arms.

I have tried, in more than a hundred instances, to draw from them a grateful recognition of Mr. Beecher's efforts to raise money to save the Southern poor from starvation; but, far from making any acknowledgment of this kind, they reply by vituperation and abuse not only of his, but of your acts in aid of the poor and suffering white population of the South. Under these circumstances, does it not seem that you carry your philanthropy to an excess? Many of them even assert that the Peabody Fund, since it is to aid in establishing free schools, ought to be indignantly rejected with the pride of every true born Southern citizen.

Memphis, Tenn. Feb. 17, 1868. Z. N. S.

HON. THADDEUS STEVENS ON IMPEACHMENT.

THE debate in the House was closed by Mr. Stevens, who, sitting at the Clerk's desk, proceeded to address the House, the members having collected in the area in front. He said:

There never was a great malefactor so gently treated as Andrew Johnson. People have been unwilling to blot the records of this country by weighing his crimes with their shame—shame for an endurance for so long a time of his great crimes and misdemeanors—the committee having omitted entirely his wicked abuse of the patronage of the government—his corruption of the voters of the Nation by seducing them with offers of offices, and intimidating by threats of expulsion, and for the purpose of making them abandon honest principles and adopt the bastard policy, which he had just conceived—a crime more heinous than that which brought many ancients to the block. To this he was prompted by the same motive which made angels fall. Soon after the death of Mr. Lincoln, and the surrender of the so-called Confederate army, the possession of the whole government of the territory, persons and property of the territory claimed by and conquered from the so-called Confederate States devolved upon the Congress of the United States, according to the most familiar and well adjudicated principles of National and municipal law, leaving nothing for the President to do but to execute the laws of Congress, and govern them by military authority until Congress should otherwise direct. Andrew Johnson assuming to establish an empire for his own control, depriving Congress of its just prerogative, did erect North Carolina and the other conquered territories into States and relations, giving them government of his own creation, and appointing over them rulers unknown to the laws of the United States, who could not by any such laws hold any office therein. He directed who should hold office, and especially directed them to send representatives to both branches of Congress. This ordering Congress refused, and asserted its sovereign prerogative to govern these territories, except during their military occupation, by their own inherent power. He treated their pretensions as idle, and refused to obey them. When Congress subsequently passed the acts dated March 2, 1867, and their supplements to reconstruct these governments under republican form of government, by the votes of the people, he pronounced them unconstitutional, and, after they had become laws, he advised the people not to obey them, thus endeavoring to defeat instead of to execute the laws of Congress. All this was done after Congress had declared these outlying States as possessing no governments which Congress could recognize, and that Congress alone had the power and control over them. This monstrous usurpation, worse than sedition, and little less than treason, he aspired to by declaring in his last annual message, and at other times, that all their acts were unconstitutional. These much more fundamental offenses, and, in my judgment, much more worthy of punishment, because more fatal to the nation, the committee have omitted in their articles of impeachment.

Encouraged by this impunity, the President proceeded to new acts of violence and disregard of the express commandment of Congress. It is those acts, light by comparison, but grave in their positive character, for which the committee has chosen to call him to answer, knowing there is enough among them, if half omitted, to answer the great purpose of impeachment. The proceedings can reach only to removal from office, and anything beyond what will effect that purpose being unnecessary, may be looked on as wanton cruelty. Hence the tender mercies of this committee have rested only on the most trifling crimes and misdemeanors which they could select from the official life of Andrew Johnson.

Mr. Stevens went on to explain the articles reported from the committee, and concluded as follows:

"By some unaccountable misunderstanding the article which I hold in my hand, and which we may call one-and-a-half, has been dropped out; for I do not find it in the articles in distinct language. I propose it as an amendment. It is that on the 12th of August, during the recess of Congress, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did suspend from office Edwin M. Stanton, and that, while the Senate was considering the sufficiency of the reasons reported, Andrew Johnson formed a deliberate design and determined to prevent Edwin M. Stanton from forthwith resuming the duties of his office, thereby committing a high misdemeanor and offence, and that when he was defeated in accomplishing his design, by the integrity and fidelity of the Secretary *ad interim*, he sought to arrive at the same end by giving a letter of authority to Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General of the Army, to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, severely censuring the former Secretary of War *ad interim*, for not yielding to his efforts to make him betray his trust."

"This charge," said Mr. Stevens, "is now here, contained in an article reported by the committee, and unless it can be inserted there can be no trial on it, if there be shrewd lawyers, as I know there will, be and cavilling judges; and if, without that article, they do not acquit him, they are greener than ever I was when I commenced to practice at the Court of Quarter Sessions. If that article be inserted, the President's own letter shows both the removal and the attempt to defeat the reinstatement; and although the Senate should decide other charges in his favor, how could he or his counsel hope to escape from this one? It is worth all the other parts put together, unless it be on the unconstitutionality of the Tenure-of-Office bill. Let us look, and see what chance he has to escape. There the Senate has voted four times on the constitutionality of that very bill. The first vote stood: yeas, 29: nays, 9. I am sorry to say it was a party vote; but every Republican voted in its favor."

"Let me see," continued Mr. Stevens, shaking his finger above his head, "the recreant dares to tread back upon his steps, and vote on the other side. There was a report of the Committee of Conference afterward on the bill, and the vote then stood: yeas, 22, nays 10; every Republican voting in favor of the measure. Then came the vote on it, overruling the President's veto. That vote was: yeas 35, nays 11. Every Republican voting in favor of the bill. Now, then, let him who can expect to get out of it, on any ground left, if my article is adopted, let him hope who dares to hope, that so high a body as the Senate will betray its trust, forget its own act, will tread back upon its own action, will disgrace itself in the face of the nation. Point me out one who dares do it, and you show me one who dares be regarded as infamous to posterity. What chance has Andrew Johnson with the article in, which was left out in order to give him a loophole? What chance has Andrew Johnson if that article be inserted? Unfortunate man, thus surrounded, hampered, tangled in the meshes of his own wickedness! Unfortunate, unhappy man, behold your doom!"

NASBY ON IRISH LIBERTY AND ENGLISH AND KENTUCKY OPPRESSION.

POST OFFIS, CONFEDRIT X ROADS,
(wich is in the Stait uv Kentucky)
February 17, 1868.

THERE is located at the Corners about 12 or 15 sons uv the Green Isle uv Erin, which is called the green isle, I apose becoz uv the ease with wich the great majority uv em are managed by the Democrisy. To fasten these voters and hold em to us, it wuz considered advisable that some akshen be taken by the Democrisy uv the Corners, in the matter uv Irish liberty and English oppreshun. The ijee originatid with Deekin Pogram, and Bascom, Capt. McPelter and I consentid. We met at the church, and I made, ez is the custom, the leadin speech. It wuz a subjick that is easy to speek upon, and I flatter myself I did it justis. It's easy to talk uv liberty, for ther's suthin inspirin in the word. That's the reason why the Ablishnists hev alluz hed the advantage uv us in the matter uv speekers. They hev all the advantage uv sentiment, but, halleloogy! uv wat avail is sentiment when yoo hurl it at a lazy man? Uv wat good is it to talk uv liberty to a man who don't like to work; who hez a taste for draw poker and mint gooleps, and who kin force fifty or a hundred niggers to work for him! Yoo mite ez well fire paper wads at a iron-clad. That's wher the Democrisy hev em in Kentucky. Everybody here hez a dislike for work, and a liking for mint gooleps, but nobody haint got no sentiment.

Still, we hev no objeckshun to talkin uv liberty, at long range. We hev no objeckshun to it in Ireland. In fact, we are willin to admit that in Ireland it is a pretty good thing.

I spoke elokently on the subjick. I held up sich uv the wrongs endoored by the Irish ez I cood conveniently remember, spoke feelinly uv wat they hed suffered, wuz a suffrin, and probably hed yet to suffer, and demandid that the Corners unite in a expression uv sympathy with em, ez those most certinly entitled to it. I wuz applaudid to the eko, and Bascom riz. He hed a series uv resolushens, which he begged to submit, ez follows:

Wareas, We hev red in the noosepapers or hev hed red to us, wich is the same thing, sole-movin accounts uv the horrors now afflictin Ireland on account uv the oppreshun and tyranny practiced upon em by the bloated aristocrats and pampered sons uv luxury uv England, and

Wareas, The Corners feels for the victims uv oppreshun, and weeps at their woes, therefore be it

Resolved, That the holdin uv the Irish in bondage in Ireland by the English, is a reproach onto the civilizashun uv the 19th century.

Resolved, That the taxin uv the Irish without givin uv em a voice in the government, the forsin uv em to support a government in the runnin uv wich they hev no voice, and the other outrages too tejus to menshun, wich is bein continyoually inflicted onto em, stirs our blood with indignashun, and we hereby extend our sympathy to em.

Resolved, That we demand uv the government of the Yoonited States, that steps be immejitly taken to releese Amerikan sitizens uv Irish descent, now languishin in English prizens, and that, if needs be, to assert the dignity uv the Republic, we go to war in this coz.

The resolooshens wuz about bein yoonanimously adopted when that miserable cuss, Joe Bigler, riz. He sed he hed a remark to make. He approved uv them resolooshens. He beleved in em. Taxashen without representashen wuz ojus—it wuz tyranny—it cood never be endoored, and he cared not wher it wuz practist, it wuz abhorrent to every lover uv liberty. He shood cheerfully vote for them resolooshens, but he desired to make a little addishen to em.

I remarkt that amendments wuz in order.

"Very good," sed Josef, "I move to add these:

Resolved, Also, that ez taxashen without representashen is unjust in Ireland, it is in Kentucky, and that while this Convenshun has her pocket hankercher out a weepin over the woes uv the Irish, it slings a teer or two over the unforchunet black citizens of this State, who are being taxed like thunder, but who aint permitted to vote at all.

Resolved, likewise, That while moistenin up over the American citizens uv Irish descent now in prizen in England, we give down a tride over the four Amerikin citizins uv Afrikin descent now in jail in this county, who wuz imprizened for no coz watever, ceptin knockin down impudent white men who aboozed their wives.

Resolved, moreover, That while we condemn England for imprizenin Amerikin citizens uv Irish descent without coz, and for tyranizin over em generally, we shel take sich steps ez shel prevent the same thing bein done to an alarmin extent to Amerikin citizens uv Afrikin descent at home.

"These resolooshens," sed Josef, "I move ez a amendment. Uv coorse no one will object, for the principle is the same here ez there."

I replied breefly. There wuz a distinkshen. I feered Mr. Bigler did not understand the matter. There wuz a distinkshen, and it wuz not altogether on akkount uv the Afrikin's bein a black man either. Ef there wuz a strong emigrashen from Afrika to Amerika, and the Afrikin emigrant cood give a vote after he hed bin heer five yeers, the Democrisy wood have no diffikilty in gettin up sympathy for 'em. But it aint so and hence I see no practical good in the amendment. I mildly, but firmly objeck to addin these resolooshens to the regler ones reported by Mr. Bascom. The nigger is ——"

Bigler sed he expectid that it wood be objectid to. But he wuz so well satisfied that it ought to pass, that he felt he must take extraordinary measures. He wantid every one to vote on the amendment ez he pleesed—he wantid every man to exercise his judgment; but he shood take the liberty uv puttin the moshen, and shood feel called upon to bust the hed uv every man who votes against it.

Uv coorse that settled it. We all hev a regard for Josef, for he does alluz ez he says. Every man in the room votid for it, and the Corners stands committed to negro suffrage. Good Heavens! Can't this cuss be got rid uv?

PETROLEUM V. NASBY, P. M.,
(wich is Postmaster.)

A TEXAN UNIONIST'S ANSWER.—It has been complained that the art of political caricature is lost; but a specimen which comes to us from the Rio Grande, shows sharp wit still exists. The San Antonio (Texas) *Express* quotes an article from the *Herald* of that place, in which the Germans are urged to vote "the white man's ticket," as a means of restoring Texas "to her normal condition, that peace and harmony may prevail, capital find security, and industry prosper." Immediately beneath the quotation the *Express* gives the "answer of the Germans to the above." It represents in a photograph from a very spirited drawing, a complaisant politician earnestly talking to a good natured but independent German, who responds by pointing to a scene behind them, revealed by the drawing of a curtain. In the background three members of the "white man's party" are seen shooting a white Unionist, while two others are engaged in the pastime of hanging another Union man. The German seems to consider this reply sufficient.

THE Baltimore *American* says: "We do not believe that in all Maryland there are one thousand Democrats who would not vote for the re-establishment of slavery if that question was submitted to them. As it is, they have placed in the Constitution of the State a demand for compensation for their slaves."

WOMEN DOCTORS.—A step in advance has been made in London. A fortnight ago, the court of assistants of the Apothecaries' Company decided that women should not be excluded from their examinations in arts; and it is probable that this important concession will be followed by admitting them unreservedly to the medical examinations. It is said this decision has been mainly brought about by Dr. N. Buchanan, an influential member of the court of assistants, which is the governing body. Dr. Buchanan, is also a considerable

subscriber to the funds of the female Medical Society, and he is a member of a select committee recently formed "to promote the development of the Ladies' Medical College on a sound public basis." The college has now been in successful operation for four years. It has already become self-supporting, and has among its list of subscribers and friends the names of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Mrs. Gladstone, Lord Houghton, Archbishop Manning, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and others.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1868.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard

FOR 1868.

Chattelism has been abolished, but equal freedom for the colored race has not yet been secured. The old controversy has not been definitely ended. It has again passed from the bloody arena of the battle-field to the sphere of politics and diplomacy. The last elections present a fearful record of unrelenting prejudice against the colored race. They have revived the forlorn hopes, and renewed the desperate energies of the discomfited rebels at the South. We had fondly hoped that we were well nigh at the end of the struggle for equal freedom, irrespective of color, but through treachery, and the want of enlightened, conscientious statesmanship we are involved in a conflict of still momentous importance. Many politicians who, during the war, were willing to accept the services and to advocate the enfranchisement of colored men, now as the temptations of the presidential year approach, disgracefully surrender and abandon their cause. So too the popular churches and clergy are relaxing their interest for, and diminishing their co-operation with the freedmen, and excusing themselves on the score of disinclination for "political preaching," they ally themselves as formerly with "Conservatism" and the dominant spirit of prejudice against race.

Under these circumstances it is of the greatest importance to have a thoroughly Radical, independent journal, which, like THE STANDARD, may speak freely and fearlessly for justice and impartial freedom, with nothing to gain or lose by party triumphs or losses. During the past year our circulation has steadily increased with each month. Frequent calls for the paper come to us of late from the South. THE STANDARD now goes regularly each week to Charleston, Mobile, New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, Richmond and at other points in the South. We have arrangements in progress for its general introduction to the notice of the leading colored men and white Radicals throughout the South the present year. The importance of an intelligent alliance between uncompromising Radicals at the North and their coadjutors at the South can scarcely be over-estimated in the present condition of national affairs.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will continue as the past year an editorial writer for the columns of THE STANDARD. It will also be the medium through which his lectures and addresses, as revised by himself, will be given to the public. Other able writers will contribute regularly to its columns. We shall continue to present a department of choice literary miscellany, and while chiefly devoted to the consideration of the freedom and well-being of the colored race, our columns will, as hitherto, hospitably entertain the claims of movements of a kindred end and aim, as the rights of women, temperance, education, etc.

The period through which we are now passing is one of the most critical thus far in our national experience. Though the late reverses in the elections may dishearten those whose dependence is upon the Republican party, it should be borne in mind that it has been, and still is, the high prerogative of Abolitionists to create the opinion which makes and unmakes parties in the service of freedom.

We appeal earnestly and confidently therefore to all friends to unite heartily with us in an effort to extend the circulation of THE STANDARD as the emergency of the cause it represents demands.

MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

WAYLAND, MASS., Feb. 1, 1868.

AARON M. POWELL—*Dear Sir:* Enclosed is $3 00, our yearly subscription for THE STANDARD. Money cannot pay for the privilege of having a paper that speaks the truth boldly, without fear or favor, alike unfettered by sect, and untrammelled by any political party. Such a paper was never more needed than at the present time, and I am thankful to see that so many friends rally to its support. Yours, cordially,

L. MARIA CHILD.

PREMIUMS.

We offer our friends what we are sure will be esteemed very liberal and welcome compensation for their efforts to add to our subscription list, namely: to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6; or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6) we will send either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters." 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's "Romance of the Republic." 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court. 498 pages—price $2.50.

IMPEACHMENT.

ST. LOUIS, March 5, 1868.

I AM cheered, though not surprised, at the unanimity, as well as the enthusiasm, through all the Western States, in regard to the Impeachment of Mr. Johnson. Men regarded as Democrats are found accepting it heartily, as the only means of securing the business prosperity of the country; and all sections of the Republican party hail it with most cordial satisfaction. The boastful *practical* men, so called, who have been opposing it for twenty months, as fraught with ruin to their party, see now that the defeats of last Fall were largely due to the contempt into which Congress had fallen for its timidity in this matter. Properly managed, the measure will aid the party more in the coming canvass than any one other thing.

For this hot popular enthusiasm does not spring from any recent indignation at the attack on Stanton. It comes from a slowly matured conviction, wide spread, that Mr. Johnson's whole course deserves this rebuke, and that the best interests of the Nation require his removal. This slowly-ripened conviction, long pent up at the bidding of supposed party necessities, now bursts forth with added heat. It takes little note of this technical violation of a statute, and the managers of the trial will make a great mistake if they literally confine themselves to this point. The Nation needs to have its heart and purpose fitly uttered by one great speech, at least, which shall marshal all Johnson's offences, as Jefferson did those of George Third in the Declaration of Independence. A broad survey of his systematic attempts to rouse, in 1865, the then submissive South to an effort to regain by stealth and intrigue what she had lost in arms; his incessant purpose, in defiance of Congress, to replace in power at the South the old and still malignant rebels; his, for this purpose, carefully prepared plan to drive Northern men and capital from the South by inaugurating violence and bloodshed there, leaving Union men defenceless and unprotected at the mercy of the rebels; his effort to supply the most pressing need of the defeated white race by restoring to them their property, the root of their power; his devilish and tireless purpose, by repeated changes of Generals in command, to secure unlimited and unrestrained freedom for the rebels to insult, assault, pillage and murder Union men, white and black; New Orleans, Memphis, Texas, Alabama—the Nation forever disgraced because it has allowed, for twenty months, a state of things in cities we claim to have conquered, which made the most dangerous words a man could utter there to be these: "I am a Union man;" a nation, the scorn of all right-minded men, because it gave black men the ballot and then sat silent while they used it at the cost of scourging and death—all this terrible indictment should be, must be, spread out before the world. Bingham or Boutwell or Butler must not leave this grand utterance unspoken. The heart of the people demands it. It will constitute the Nation's vindication at the bar of the world and history. Blood, cruel desertion of our friends at the South, an effort to perjure the Nation and break its great pledge to the black race from the lips of Lincoln in 1863, an impudent defiance of the undoubted wish and purpose of the Nation which had made him its chief on his pledge to lead it in this path, and a hardly veiled effort to renew the civil war—these are his crimes; not a quibble over words. We are to let no one draw us aside from this grave arraignment of the traitor by asking if we will impeach a man just for formal breach of a law he doubts. One might as well ask of the man who had shot a burglar, as he opened his chamber-door, "Would you shoot a man for simply opening a door?" No; but I would shoot him if he opened my chamber-door stealthily, at midnight, disguised, holding a cocked revolver in his hand, and with comrades behind him who had tied up, hand and foot, every other person in the house. The mere opening of my door *in such* circumstances, should be death. So the slightest technical breach of a statute following such a series of crimes as Johnson has committed, may be reasonably made the occasion of removing him.

But let the Senate rise to the level of its great place. Let it act promptly, and thus open the choked channels of business and lift this heavy burden off the industry of the country; let it give peace to the South, protect the negro, hold the shield of sufficient law over the heads of the white Unionists of the South, vindicate the National self-respect, and show itself capable of using worthily this great opportunity which so many devoted men have bought for us with their blood. The Senate sits surrounded by the graves of five hundred thousand brave men who died for a purpose which this thrice-perjured traitor is using his office to thwart. Let it act worthy of its great position. To have the Impeachment fail would be a National infamy, in the black darkness of which the mere annihilation of the Republican party would be but a trivial matter. Every rebel watches this trial to learn his fate and mould his conduct accordingly. Better that Lee should have saved Richmond than have Johnson acquitted; the Northern rebels, styled Democrats, stealing a good name to serve the Devil in—Mr. Seward calling home Charles Francis Adams, as the candidate of that party, and meaning, if Johnson and he can still usurp and misuse office, to use it all in the service of such a nomination—these and their fellow-accomplices watch to stab the Nation whose victory they hated.

Let the Senate scatter all these clouds. In a moment the South will cower at its feet; industry will start up and reap golden harvests from the Lakes to the Gulf; the righteous purpose of the people will have free course; black and white loyalists at the South will no longer need to hide and flee from their homes; starvation, in those ten States, will fly before a just policy; and Seward, Vallandigham, Adams, and Belmont will disappear in that blackness of darkness where Buchanan sits evermore. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE ISSUE.

THE Emancipation Proclamation and the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, except as "a punishment for crime," have not sufficed to end the "irrepressible conflict." The negro's status is still exceptional. At the South he votes to-day, if he has the courage to face cruel persecution, starvation and death, by the will of Congress and the military. After the readmission of the reconstructed States he is, by the present plan, to be remanded back again to the chances of a contest with the former ruling white class. Against this terrible contingency Abolitionists utter their earnest warning and protest. They demand a fundamental guarantee from the Nation that the negro at the South shall not be left to the contingency of the future domination of the white race. They urge that the Nation's authority be used to secure, beyond the contingency of political intriguing, the ballot, now only conditionally and temporarily in the negro's possession.

The main obstacle in the way of this farther legislative action is the prejudice against color at the North, and the incongruous state of affairs here. The Republicans of this State have yielded to the demands of the Copperhead Democracy in providing for the separate submission of the clause of our revised Constitution which abolishes the property qualification for colored voters. The Republicans of Pennsylvania have just refused in a most shameful manner to attempt to enfranchise the colored people of that State upon equal terms with the whites. Ohio has a sorry record. In Michigan, where the question of extending the ballot to colored voters upon equal terms with the whites is soon to be submitted at the polls, the result, we understand, it is feared by the Radicals, will be adverse to the blacks.

While this state of things lasts the "irrepressible conflict" must and will continue. We thank the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER for again calling the attention of the Senate and of the country, in his objection to the admission of the newly elected Maryland Senator, to the fact that no State can have Republican government which disfranchises its citizens on account of color. Impeachment is an incident of the passing hour—a very important one, which we hope will be speedily disposed of by Johnson's removal. It will have removed an obstacle. The main issue, still in controversy, is the status of the negro. Abolitionists and earnest Radicals must take nothing on trust, leave nothing to a future contingency, as our forefathers did with slavery in their time, but demand an irreversible guarantee in the National bond, of the negro's freedom and political equality. Against this issue Copperhead Democrats are a unit. Let their opponents everywhere pronounce unqualifiedly for it.

A MEETING was held at the Cooper Institute in this city on the 2d inst., in aid of the Rebel Gen. Lee's College in Virginia. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was the Chief Speaker and manager on the occasion. Mr. Greeley, Geo. W. Curtis, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, and others who, we think, might have done better, gave their names and aid to the movement. This college, in the first place, rules out students, we understand, if they are colored. In the second place it is understood to be the focus at which gathers the aristocratic, rebellious, negro-hating young manhood of the South. We submit that it is a mistaken philanthropy, to speak in the mildest phrase, which, while the blacks and impoverished loyal whites are so illy provided for in educational facilities, discriminates in favor of the scions of the exclusive, negro-hating, rebellious white aristocrats of the South.

THE New Hampshire election held on Tuesday last gave Harriman, the Republican candidate, a majority of about thirty-five hundred. This result shows that the Republicans have about held their own in numbers, but the balance in their favor is a small one. Only bold, straightforward action in Congress, and outspoken Radicalism in the party management can save it from defeat in the Presidential election next Autumn.

THE easy relations of Gen. Hancock at New Orleans with Jefferson Davis on a recent visit in that city, awakened much ill feeling on the part of the Unionists, and much good cheer among the rebels. Hancock has asked to be relieved of his command, because of the restraining rein held over him by Gen. Grant.

PERSONAL.

Miss J. E. Ellery, of Boston, gave a reading at Northampton, Mass., on the 7th inst.

Sallie Holley will lecture in the Unitarian church (the Rev. Samuel J. May's) in Syracuse, N. Y., on Sunday next, the 15th inst.

Mr. Phillips is still lecturing in the West and is greeted by large audiences. We observe that he was very fully reported in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, and also in the *Gazette* of that city.

Walter Brown, of this city, has recently completed a remarkably truthful and life-like portrait of Lucretia Mott. It will probably be shown to the public at the Spring exhibition of the National Academy of Design. We esteem it great good fortune that so excellent a likeness has been obtained of one who is beloved by a very large circle of friends, and in whom also the general public has a warm interest.

Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever, of this city, preached in the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington on the 8th inst. to a crowded audience, including many Republican and several Democratic members of Congress. In the course of his sermon he claimed justice for the millions whom, he said, God had emancipated, and added: "If we determine to work out our own salvation the world shall now see how we can be carried through the next great impending struggle, and how, as a nation, we can vindicate the majesty of the law in its power on the highest as well as on the lowest, without respect to persons, so that a measure of justice impossible in other governments without a revolution shall only strengthen ours."

Mr. H. L. Salsbury, of Holley, Orleans Co., N. Y., writes: "Wm. Wells Brown, orator and dramatist, has given us a treat here, to the like of which we are little accustomed in this rural place. In his lecture Thursday evening on the 'Origin of the African Race,' he advanced thoughts which were entirely new to many of us, if not all, and although he arrived at the hall after eight in the evening, he left at the close a decidedly good impression on his audience.

"On Friday evening he read a number of original and selected pieces evincing a rare talent as a dramatist, and elocutionist. It is evident that he has spared no pains to make himself perfect in the characters he personates, and he could hardly fail to entertain the most critical cultivated assemblages.

"He closed his last evening with a history of his escape from slavery, which, enlivened as it was by wit, and the personation of the various characters brought forward, was listened to with absorbed attention."

The Rev. Mr. Van Meter, Superintendent of Howard Mission, addressed a large meeting on Sunday evening the 8th inst. at Bunyan Hall. He said: "I have with great care prepared the following statement. It is established upon the most trustworthy official reports, much of which will be found in Dyer's Report recently published—the most astounding document I ever read. I believe them, and therefore present them. Examine them, and if you are not satisfied call on me at Howard Mission and home for Little Wanderers, No. 40 New Bowery, and I will furnish you with the proof. There are in this city 5,203 licensed places selling intoxicating liquor. Superintendent Kennedy placed policemen at 223 of them for 24 consecutive hours, and this is the result: each rum-hole receives a daily average of 134 visits, making an aggregate of 697,202 per day, 4,183,212 per week, or 218,224,226 visits in one year! Each visit averages at least 15 minutes. This gives us 5,455,605 days of 10 hours each, or 1848 years. At present wages each one if sober and industrious would earn $1 per day, or 5,455,605 in one year. But this is not all the lost time. The time of at least three persons is occupied by each grog-shop to do its work. This gives us 15,609 persons—enough to make a large city. At $1 per day for each we have (not including Sunday) $4,870,008, or an aggregate of $10,325,603 of wasted time by seller and drinker—a sum sufficient to carry on all the Sunday School, Missionary, Tract, and Bible Societies in the land. But this is a mere fraction of the cost of rum. From the same source we have the following: each rum-hole receives a daily average of $141 53, making an aggregate of $736,280 59 per week, or $38,286,590 68 per annum, to which add the value of lost time, and we have $48,612,193 68. But the real cost cannot be estimated. Look at the thousands of shivering, hungry, helpless, hopeless little victims. What sum would compensate for loss of character, domestic happiness, ruined husbands, wives, sons, and daughters? for the absence of every ray of light and hope in this and in the world to come? Still were this confined to our Sodom it would be comparatively a small matter. But the nation is deluged with rum. The rumseller drags down to deepest infamy and woe many of our most eminent statesmen and bravest generals, our most distinguished judges, lawyers, ministers, artists, and profound scholars. The destroyer lurks around our dwellings, watching for us, and those dearer than life to us. The power to put and end to this rests with ministers and the members of their churches. It is for them to say whether the destroyer shall be crushed or not. God and humanity hold them responsible."

THE SITUATION.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1868.

THE perils which surround the Republic have never been of a graver character than they are to-day. The President has been tardily impeached on purely technical grounds, which present opportunities for a lengthy and plausible defence, conducted, as that defence is to be, by the ablest special pleaders in America. The devices invented to curb and check the President will, I fear, return to plague the inventors. He can now plead in his defence an invasion by Congress of a prerogative which, whether constitutional or not, has been sanctioned by the law and custom of the Republic for over half a century. The opportunity to assume this position should never have been given him. The moment he was proved to be dangerous to the extent that he could not be trusted with the usual powers of his office, the proper remedy was, not to pass laws of a doubtful and unusual character, but to draw the weapon from the Constitutional Armory, placed there for just such an emergency, and with it to strike off his head. This was again and again urged in these columns; but a timid and half-awake Congress allowed the golden moments of opportunity to slip by, the indignation of the people, raised to a fever heat in the Fall of '66, to cool—and now a rude buffet from the hand of the despot they have vainly tried to fetter, rouses them to the spasmodic cry of Impeachment—and thus we confront the issue of to-day.

That the President is technically guilty on the indictment framed, and that the law violated is constitutional, though of an unusual character, seems easily proven. But that the skilful lawyers who conduct the defence will be able to raise clouds of doubt around the whole subject is very certain. This, however, is the least of the dangers which threaten to balk the purpose of the loyal people determined that Johnson shall no longer protect treason and punish loyalty in the Presidential chair.

The Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court is his ally. Salmon P. Chase, mad with the Presidential fever and desperate in the consciousness of baffled plans, meanly jealous of Wade, and, perhaps, cherishing the forlorn hope of a Democratic nomination, joins forces with the enemy, and stands as the Presidential ally. It has been known for a long time that the relations between the Chief-Justice and President were more cordial than was made necessary by the mere official relation of the parties, and, last Wednesday night, the rooms of the Chief-Justice, filled with the gay and fashionable Winter society of Washington, were startled as by an electric shock when the doors were flung open, and the usher, in a loud voice announced, "the President of the United States and daughter." Few who were present with me will soon forget the significant looks which passed from face to face through those brilliant and crowded rooms, as the unusual event of the President of the United States attending an evening reception of the Chief-Justice was fully realized. His carping letter to the Senate, his refusal, at first, to obey the mandate to appear as its presiding officer, and his decisions of the following day, are but the first unfolding of a plot to obstruct and defeat, as far as possible, the conviction of the President. How far he may be able to work harm depends, of course, on the firmness of the Senate; but, in any event, he is a serious obstacle, with evil intentions only limited by his courage, which latter, fortunately, is not great. He seems determined to maintain the consistency of a public career which may be summed up in these words—he never had an opportunity to serve his party that he did not betray it.

The Senate itself is the next great danger. There is reason to believe that a serious defection exists among the Republicans on this question. Ross of Kansas, and Sprague of Rhode Island (Chase's son-in-law), are already counted secure as two of the seven Republicans it is necessary to win over to prevent a conviction. The more than probable defection of Fessenden would carry at least four more gentlemen who hang on his skirts. The folly of Congress in not providing for the suspension of the President during trial will soon be evident. The boundless opportunity this gives the culprit to corrupt his judges will not remain unimproved.

The most menacing danger of all, however, is the probable decision by a majority of the Supreme Court in the case of McArdle, that the Reconstruction acts are unconstitutional. Congress has failed to pass the law requiring a two-thirds vote for such a decision (Trumbull stifled the bill in the Senate), and we are thus hastening to a point where everything we have gained for loyalty and the negro is to be undone by judicial fiat.

The situation is alarming, and the people must be aroused, or all is lost. There should be a voice from the North, deep and loud enough to make the Senate keep its integrity, and awe the Supreme Court, with its equivocal Chief, into silence. Meetings should be held everywhere, and the country awakened to its peril. My feeble pen can do little. What I say here is in the minds and mouths of all who know Washington society or politics at all. Yet you will hardly find it in the editorials or correspondence of a single Northern paper. The "Special Dispatches," which so largely affect public opion, are all carefully moulded by crafty politicians here or venal editors there, in the interests of some candidate, never caring to speak the exact truth once; and so the good ship, with the passengers all unwarned, drifts on an unknown and dangerous shore.

If the President comes out of that Senate Chamber triumphant and armed with the pronounced decision of the Supreme Court on the unconstitutionality of Reconstruction, what law in the interest of freedom and loyalty will be thenceforth regarded? Proscription of loyal men, rehabilitation of traitors, the trampling down of the negro in blood, and his own re-election by the combined diabolism of the country, North and South, to all of which a demoralized Republican party could offer but a weak resistance—this is the future which presents itself as the inevitable sequence of events which are imminent.

The South would then indeed be victorious, and a "dawdling" Congress would witness the sacrifice of a Republic which they had neither the virtue, nor the wisdom, nor the courage to save. BRANDON.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, March 8th, 1868.

I SEE reported in the New York *Observer* the first annual meeting (lately held in that city) of the "New York Colored Young Men's Christian Association"—the first Association of that sort ever organized.

Knowing, as we do, that, while slavery lasted, the Church was "the great bulwark of slavery"—and knowing the "Young Men's Christian Associations" (so called) to be mainly pioneers and propagandists for the Church, and to be as zealous in maintaining the vices as the virtues of that body—it need not be considered strange if we find these Associations still favoring *caste*, one of the products of slavery. It appears, by the "Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and British Provinces, held at Montreal, June, 1867"—published last year, in a bulky pamphlet, by the Executive Committee of the New York Society—that they are systematically favoring the formation of *separate* Associations for people of color, North and South. The New York Managers began this movement, organizing the first of these *caste* societies in that city in February, last year; and the next one was formed in March, at Harrisburg, Pa.

These beginnings were probably made thus early for the purpose of having precedents upon which to found some systematic action at the annual Convention in June, and that body did act, as follows:

On motion of a delegate from Washington City, D. C., it was

"Resolved, That the Committee on Associations of this Convention be instructed to report such measures as in their judgment will best promote the formation of Young Men's Christian Associations among the colored brethren throughout the United States and the British Provinces."

Two days after, a report was made that—"in reference to colored Associations, the Committee were not ready to submit any other plan *than that already before the Convention.*"

Now, the fact was, that no plan at all was before the Convention. Perhaps the Committee were divided in opinion; or perhaps, though wishing to follow the custom of their churches by continuing *caste* distinctions, they shrank from the disgrace of recommending that this iniquity should be framed into a law. What is certain is, that they did *not* choose to say plainly that distinctions of color had no place in a "*Christian* Association." They shirked the duty of bearing a truly Christian testimony on this subject, and presently the desired suggestion was made by an individual, thus:

"In regard to the formation of Colored Associations, Mr. McBurney, of New York, moved an amendment, as follows:

"'Resolved, That the delegates of all Associations be especially requested to aid in the formation of colored associations throughout the South.'

"The amendment was adopted."

So now it must be understood to be the policy of our "Young Men's *Christian* Associations" to recommend to the colored "brethren" to keep apart by themselves as much as may be. Is it not honor enough for them to be allowed to send their delegates to the annual convention, without aspiring to a recognition of social equality with white Christians in weekly and daily intercourse?

As long as slavery lasted, the "Young Men's Christian Associations" were pro-slavery. They assumed, as their mother the Church did, that slave-holding, slave-trading, slave-breeding in Virginia for a Southern market, were merely secular and indifferent affairs, not at all interfering with the good standing of members in their Associations, any more than with that of Baptist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian Church members. All these pretended to follow the Bible; but it was a hypocritical pretence, for what they all followed was, in matters of belief, the creed, and in morals the customs of society. In their church-meetings they stigmatized "the world" as evil, and pretended to disapprove and renounce it; but when worldliness paid a good profit they took their share without scruple; and they continued the practice and the defence of slaveholding until the world, for worldly reasons, decided to abolish it.

Abolitionists will remember that when this Annual Convention of all the Young Men's Christian Associations in the country met at New Orleans, a few years before the rebellion, not only was there no protest from the orthodox young Christians of the North against this fraternization with slaveholders, but the delegates from Troy, N. Y., dreading lest their Northern origin should expose them to suspicion, took the precaution to carry a clean bill of health from their municipal authorities, certifying that they had always borne true allegiance to the "peculiar institution." Well, now that slavery (as a great national system) no longer exists to be defended, those Trojan young Christians and their successors seem to be doing the *next* greatest favor to their ex-slaveholding brethren by taking order that colored young men shall not receive "Christian" consideration as equals, thus preparing the way to deny their equal rights in civil, political and social life. Let every true friend of the colored people watch and expose these machinations of an association which lends itself thus basely to the work of re-enforcing the cruel and anti-Christian distinctions of *caste*.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 10, 1868.

THERE is a lull in the impeachment storm. I think it only the precursor of a noisier and angrier blast. Often when some tempest rages on a wild, fierce night, the winds will die away for a brief space, the black rifts of clouds will part, the blue above them will appear, and the stars will gleam; presently, however, the tempest will rise again, and the storm blow fiercer because of the lull—as if new strength had been gained. The illustration holds good in human affairs.

There is something afoot here, few persons seem to know what, and yet everybody is apprehensive or expecting a mischievous developement. Perhaps it may not indicate anything, but is worth mentioning, that for the past few days eight-tenths of all the hotel arrivals here have been from the South. Last evening there were twenty out of twenty-five on one hotel register, from Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia. Men living here, who were in the secret service during the war, say that they daily recognize on the streets, since impeachment, the most notorious Maryland rebel sympathizers—men who were leaders in the smuggling and mail carrying movements of the lower Potomac region. An intelligent man from Leesburg, Va., whose means of knowing the neighborhood affairs are undoubtedly good, stated to-day that Mosby's men were gathering and consulting. Mosby is known to have been riding through the section where his raids chiefly occured, and is believed to have been communicating with his former troopers. It could be but for some mischievous purpose. Some of the more indiscreet of these troopers have recently said they were going to have a turn at the Radicals. One boasted that Mosby had a thousand men, and all their guns clean. I don't vouch for the truth of any of these things, but then they come from so many sources as to make them noticeable.

But most of the opinions relative to Mr. Johnson are of a more pacific nature. Seward seems to have taken hold in earnest to save his master. It is well understood that all the influence he can bring to bear within republican lines is being used on Senators. Gov. Morgan is not a very promising subject for safe Radical predictions, but as he wants to come back to the Senate, he won't betray us on impeachment. Conklin, without doubt is right. It is Fessenden, Frelinghuysen, Willey, Van Winkle, and such men as these they hope to reach. Yesterday the gold speculators were constantly telegraphing here, inquiring as to the truth or falsity of a variety of rumors then circulating on the street. One was, that Mr. Johnson intended to refuse to appear, or to recognize the Court, and threatened if impeached thereon to appeal to the country: another that he intended to resign; a third was that Hancock was to be called here, and Thomas was to issue orders as Sec. of War *ad interim*, creating the Division of the Atlantic, and placing Hancock in command. By the way, I am informed that the removal of that officer from New Orleans, was in great part brought about by Thomas A. Durant, of La., who is now residing here. Information obtained by him was laid before Gen. Grant, accompanied by a view of the case, which induced the General to act as he did.

It seems most probable that the White House cabal have determined on pushing their movements to logical conclusions. It is reported, as I write, that the Adjutant General was recognized in cabinet meeting as the acting Secretary of War. The Department is to have headquarters in the Executive mansion. If Gen. Grant refuses to promulgate orders issued by him, he is to be placed under arrest. It is to be hoped Johnson will try this game. As it seems these so-called Republican statesmen can learn nothing unless it comes in the shape of a blow, they must be taught the folly of leaving in the full exercise of powers a creature whom they intend to try for abuse of the same. Senators want to be kicked or have their noses sharply tweaked ere they understand an insult. Johnson, who cannot see that forbearance *may* not be cowardice, will probably drive them suspending him as he has done so far towards impeachment.

The great object of all schemes against impeachment, in or out of the party, at this moment, is to create delay. When the President's counsel appear on Friday, they will it is understood ask thirty days for preparation. I should not be surprised if they get twenty, though our true men are not willing to grant more than ten—the number allowed in the Peck case, in 1824, and I think some of the witnesses in that were living in Missouri.

From all I can learn and see, there seems little reason to doubt the ultimate result, though there is much fear of vexatious delays. The President's friends confidently expect a decision on the McArdle case adverse to reconstruction, but from all I learn, it seems probable that the court will adjourn without rendering their decision.

From various sources I learn that Senator Ross and his friends exhibit great indignation at the paragraph which appeared in this correspondence two weeks since. That gentleman may be assured that the paragraph was written very unwillingly. Your correspondent has known through mutual friends of the Senator and himself, that he was always regarded as a strong anti-slavery man of the political school. Succeeding Gen. Lane under the circumstances he did, Mr. Ross was greeted heartily by all the best friends of radical opinions, in and out of the Senate. Everybody was prepared to approve of his course. But have they? Can Mr. Ross say that he is regarded by the truest men in either House as a safe and reliable man? There must be a reason for the want of confidence. What is it?

My business as your correspondent is to know. When I found leading Radicals in the Hall of Representatives counting Mr. Ross as doubtful on the impeachment question, I was constrained to inquire. That he was in doubt when I wrote I know well enough. Whether he is more assured now, I cannot say.

Mr. Ross is suffering from the effects of bad associations as well as indifferent actions. Ever since he came here this Fall he has kept himself aloof and apart from the leading Radicals. His warmest and nearest friends here are Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., and Perry Fuller, the latter a member of the Democratic National Committee from Kansas, and a candidate for the Commissionership of Internal Revenue. Senator Ross signed papers asking the appointment to that position of that politician. He is also a warm advocate of Sunset Cox's confirmation to Austria. Furthermore he voted to confirm Rosecan, the Kentucky bully, who is now commanding in Oregon, and writes here that he will carry Oregon against the Republicans if he can have the control of sufficient patronage. Mr. Ross, moreover, is known not to have voted against the suspension of Mr. Stanton. More than all this Mr. Ross said on the 21st or 22d of February, after the attempted appointment of Adjutant General Thomas to the War Office, "*that Mr. Johnson had done nothing which justified impeachment.*" This was said to two prominent citizens of Kansas, one a Republican and the other a Democrat. A leading Senator when asked declared that Mr. Ross was counted out, his own colleagues in the delegation didn't know where he stood or what his vote would probably be. Surely then your correspondent was not far out when he suggested that in more than one sense he might be considered the successor of Gen. James H. Lane, especially when it is known that his chief friend, Gen. Ewing, is an avowed prompter of the President to revolutionary action.

ASMODEUS.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 9, 1868.

JOHN HICKMAN is a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. He is one of the very few members of our Legislature from whose presence that body may claim to derive credit and honor. But what good can a true man, even of high character and distinguished reputation, accomplish there? Especially when we are on the verge of a Presidential campaign, it seems utterly idle to expect the triumph of any great question pertaining to political progress, or to hope for a victory in favor of impartial justice. Such an event might prove hurtful to party welfare, and detrimental to political prospects. Rather than be unmindful of these, some members of our Legislature have recently shown that they prefer to sacrifice consistency, and to prove faithless to the professed principles of their party. They do this with marked facility.

It is quite likely that neither John Hickman, nor any other person, had the faintest glimmer of a belief that his late efforts in the Assembly would be successful. For such a body as the Pennsylvania Legislature to declare in favor of impartial suffrage, would be quite a marvel of political achievement. There is not soul enough nor manhood enough there to do so good an act.

Mr. Hickman deserves great praise for his valiant endeavor in behalf of giving every freeman in our State the privilege of voting. Although we witness a failure now, the hour will arrive when the majority in our Legislature will be composed of truer and nobler men, and the great purpose that he sought to accomplish will be triumphant. Pennsylvania will not be among the first to participate in this conquest in the empire of justice and liberty, but her place will doubtless be in the rear.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Hickman declared in favor of impartial suffrage, and of striking the word "white" from our State Constitution. Although the Republicans have a majority of members, only fourteen votes were given in their favor, with seventy-three in opposition. Of the latter number twenty-eight were Republicans. George M. Thorn was the only one among the seventeen members from this city that voted yea.

Hitherto we have had sufficient evidence to lead us to believe that impartial suffrage was a recognized principle in the creed of the Republican party. Acknowledged leaders in the confidence of that party have time after time proclaimed enough to warrant this conclusion. If that principle is in the keeping of any organization, by reason of repeated declarations in its favor, and open avowals in its advocacy, we may name the Republican party. The men who defeated those just and vital resolutions in our Legislature, are members of that party. They united with the Democrats on that important occasion. May we not ascribe this to cowardice? Are they not false Republicans, acting a dishonorable part, and deserving the scorn and reprobation due to all cowards and apostates? Surely their action was disgraceful. Let them cease to laud and approve the principles of justice. Let them no longer speak of their devotion to equal rights. While their words are on the side of liberty, their acts belong to the dark sphere of despotism. They cry "fair play," yet sway the rod of tyranny. The wretched spirit of oppression finds its efficient champions among the professed advocates of justice. Policy is the monitor they consult, and the charm of office dissipates fidelity and stultifies conscience.

The Republican State Convention is to assemble here this week, for the purpose of nominating candidates for Surveyor-General and Auditor-General. The Academy of Music has been engaged for the purpose. It is expected that a preference for President and Vice-President will be indicated by the Convention, and that Grant and Curtin will be the choice. I do not apprehend that we shall find among the resolutions adopted on the occasion any affirmation concerning impartial suffrage. It is not at all probable that any notice will be taken of that great question. It has not yet become quite fashionable enough to meet with avowed favor among the politicians that compose our State Conventions. Neither is it likely that the recent action of our Legislature in regard to the word "white" will receive special attention. How to ignore will be the policy.

The Convention will doubtless give emphatic support and encouragement to the majority in Congress respecting the great impeachment drama. Among Republicans there seems to be no diversity of opinion whatever concerning this, and the verdict that should be pronounced against the usurper.

The Republicans will hold a grand ratification meeting in the Academy on Thursday evening. Among the speakers announced I notice the names of Senators Nye and Cameron, Gen. Sickles, Gov. Geary, A. G. Curtin and Galusha A. Grow.

Mrs. Kemble will give a series of four readings here next week, commencing on Monday evening, the 16th instant. She will meet with a flattering reception.

Here as elsewhere the thought of the people is fixed upon the great event that is steadily unfolding itself step by step at the Capitol, and there is deep longing that the hour may soon arrive when Andrew Johnson will forever cease to disgrace our nation as President. His impeachment and removal now seem inevitable, and we may fervently trust that no untoward event may arise to thwart or hazard the glorious consummation. Liberty still marches on, and the enemies of justice will be overthrown. W.

FOR THE STANDARD.

"*THE HOURS THAT SHINE.*"

BY MRS. FRANCES D. GAGE.

TRAVELLERS tell us of a sun dial in a market place in Germany which bears upon its plate the beautiful and suggestive inscription,

"Marking the hours that shine."

How I have wished, as I have occupied my arm chair from week to week and month to month, searching with earnest eyes for news from the outside world, that there were more "dials" among our newspaper reporters and writers to mark for us "the hours that shine." To be compelled to swallow with your toast and coffee doses of bankruptcy, burglary, theft, perjury, knavery, murder, mobs, mischief, in fine, total depravity concentrated in all "the gall of bitterness," and we might well add, "and bond of iniquity," not in homœpathic doses—oh! no, but in the full measure of allopathic formulas, sickening us to disgust and filling our souls with pain and fear lest the world and its people are all racing at railroad speed to destruction—is a terrible thing.

There is good in the world. Honesty, sobriety, truth, chastity, loving kindness, generosity, humanity, justice, industry, care and economy—in short, every good quality that "Our Father, which art in Heaven," ever vouchsafed to sons and daughters born in his image, still lives and glows in the hearts of men and women; and it is my firm and unshaken belief, the morning papers "to the contrary, notwithstanding," that there is more of the true and beautiful daily enacted even in the great thoroughfares of New York, than there is of the horrible and awful, if those who keep the record would but do it impartially.

Is it necessary that our young men and maidens should have the details of all the prize-fights, shameful proceedings of police courts, or frightful tales of sui-

tide, infanticide, homicide, starvation and poisoning daily placed before them? Will it improve their morals to be told in daily and monthly periodicals, that it is fashionable to be idle, extravagant, and useless; that in high life there are "conspiracies against marriage;" that in the *beau monde* there remains but a remnant of "the fig leaves;" or will they be made better by Mr. Tom. White's little sermon," which teaches that woman's only mission is to marry, to be "loyal wives and loving mothers?"

To be sure it is good advice to say, "stand by your homes, stand by your husbands, stand by your children, stand forever;" but our women must have homes, husbands and children first, to stand by, and it we may believe the croakings of all the croakers, the attainment of these objects is all that girls now are striving for. And why tell us that some one worth five millions has spent nine thousand seven hundred dollars on a wedding trousseau, while nine thousand seven hundred weddings might be reported that did not cost fifty dollars? Will not such details induce a restless desire for dress, instead of content and economy?

Oh! for an enlarged record of the good deeds done in the body! If men would have the world do well, let them set before the world examples of well-doing.

For every gibe and sneer at "trails," "low dress," "bare arms," "diamonds," etc., give us at least just one of the thousands of cases every day before our eyes of modest, beautiful, earnest, pains-taking, intelligent and educated girls and women, who, in this same city are earning their bread by womanly and needful employments. I say womanly, for I see no sex in trade and industry, right and wrong; and whatever a woman can do and do well, thereby earning honest and independent bread—if it is right to be done at all—becomes womanly, in spite of Dr. Todd or Prof. Tayler Lewis.

Can we not be refreshed by now and then seeing a statement of the fact that these same girls, women, wives and mothers wear the same plain, becoming, cheap dresses six days in the week through the entire season; that they rise at six, cook their own breakfasts, prepare for their own dinners, and often for others also; sweep, dust, arrange, wash, and mend and yet find time to work at outside employments from six to ten hours a day, and lay up enough to attend medical lectures, (when permitted), to study art, book-keeping, languages, music, or any science or pleasure open to them; daring to go to lectures, operas and readings now and then, without calling upon "Frank Howland" or "Tom. White" or other Delmonico-dining gentlemen, to attend them, or to pay their bills, and really living as independently and cheerfully on from three to six hundred a year as the above "banker's clerk" on two thousand. Probably because *they* live above "Delmonico's" cigars or wines.

Dear Mr. Editor, there are such women, and why should the extravagant, dissipated and silly ones be kept constantly before the eye of the rising generation? Are folly and wrong only to have notoriety?

But the arm-chair calls me to its rest, and I linger only to add this earnest prayer, "Oh, men and brethren, mark for us more of the hours that shine!"

New York, March 9, 1868.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

WILL OF THE LATE FRANCIS JACKSON.

During my absence in Europe last Summer, a letter was published in The Standard from Robert Purvis, of Byberry, Pa., to Edward M. Davis, of Philadelphia, evidently written in a highly excited state of mind—"my blood with unwonted celerity moved to fever heat," to quote the language of the writer. This letter had reference to the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts upon an Anti-Slavery bequest made in the will of the late Francis Jackson, of Boston. As that decision was, as he alleged, "adverse to the manifest purpose of the testator," Mr. Purvis demanded to know who were responsible for it. Nay, more:

"The Anti-Slavery public who have not laid off their armor, under the delusion that 'the nation is converted' and 'the work done'—those who mean to be faithful to the end, and who, in this most eventful and anxious period of our struggle, in this crisis of the black man's fate, are found at their posts of duty, laboring and meaning to labor until to the negro, freedom in fact as well as in name is vouchsafed—for such I speak when asking for *the names* of those whose influence, doubtless, gave *misdirection* to means *justly belonging to the American Anti-Slavery Society.*"

Of course, this implied—(1), that some persons had been guilty of very base conduct in inducing the Court to pervert the bequest aforesaid, and therefore they should be ferreted out, and held up to the reprobation of all faithful Abolitionists; (2), that the persons referred to had either apostatized from the Anti-Slavery cause, or at least had put off their armor under the delusion that nothing more remained to be done for the liberated bondmen at the South, and, consequently, were no longer found at their post of duty; and, (3), that the American Anti-Slavery Society had, through their influence, been defrauded of a bequest expressly designed for its treasury.

To this "fever heat" letter of inquiry, Wendell Phillips, over his own signature, appended a reply, evincing similar warmth, and equally sweeping in its imputations—imputations which he renewed in The Standard of August 24th—applying them to a "minority" of Mr. Jackson's Trustees, and singling me out by name as mainly responsible for the alleged unjust decision of the Supreme Court.

Thousands of miles away at the time this extraordinary impeachment was made, I was placed at too great a disadvantage—travelling from place to place—to enter into any explanation or defence. Since my return home, I have remained silent to this hour, through my strong aversion to personal controversy, hesitating whether to take any public notice of it; or whether, in view of the position and conspicuity of Mr. Phillips, and of our intimate friendship and association in the Anti-Slavery struggle—as well as in justice to the memory of the noble man whose confidence I, as one of his Trustees, am accused of betraying—to show its utter groundlessness. But, having reason to believe that it has injuriously affected the feelings and opinions of some, who, unwilling to believe that Mr. Phillips would make such a grave charge without any justification, are led reluctantly to infer from my silence that, to some extent at least, I may be blameworthy; and, moreover, seeing in The Standard of the 15th ult. a letter from my esteemed friends, David Lee and L. Maria Child, bringing up the matter afresh, and showing how prejudicially their own minds have been affected, as follows—"We enclose $50 as our subscription to the Anti-Slavery Society; if our means equalled our wishes, we would send a sum as large as *the legacy Francis Jackson intended for that purpose*, and of which the *Society* was deprived, as we think, *by an unjust legal decision;*"—I deem it due not only to myself and my honored co-Trustees, Edmund Quincy, Esq., and Rev. Samuel May, Jr., but also to the Supreme Court itself, to the Master in Chancery whose report it adopted, and to all interested in the case, to meet the issue as presented.

What are the simple facts in the case? Francis Jackson died November 14, 1861, leaving in his will, *not to any Society or newspaper*, but to certain *Trustees*, the sum of ten thousand dollars, "to be expended as they deem best for the preparation of books, newspapers, the delivery of speeches, lectures, and such other means as will *put an end to negro slavery in this country;*" and to the same Trustees the further sum of two thousand dollars, "to be expended by them for the benefit of fugitive slaves." In utter disregard of the wishes and intentions of the testator, and of his Anti-Slavery character, one of the heirs sought to invalidate the will in these particulars; and for this purpose took an appeal to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. It was not till last year, however, that the decision of the Court was obtained, in affirmance of these legacies. "These two charitable trusts," said the Court, "were not terminated or destroyed by the abolition of slavery by the thirteenth article of amendment of the Constitution of the United States; but are to be applied to carry out in a lawful manner the intentions of the testator as nearly as possible, according to a scheme to be settled by a Master in Chancery and approved by the Court, before the funds are paid over to the Trustees named in the will." The Master in Chancery, (John Codman, Esq., who was selected at the suggestion of Mr. Phillips), invited the Trustees to give him their opinion as to how the fund should be appropriated; not with any assurance that their opinion, even if unanimous, would control him, or the final action of the Court, but that he might take it into consideration in making up his report. Accordingly, a meeting of the Trustees was held on the 28th of January, 1867. Five of the seven were present—Mr. May and Mr. Bowditch being represented by proxy. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Whipple desired the fund for the Anti-Slavery Standard; Mr. Quincy agreed with me in preferring it to be given to the Freedmen's cause; while Mr. Edmund Jackson (the Executor), thought that only one-quarter part should be given to The Standard, and the balance to the Freedmen—(it not being true, as stated by Mr. Phillips in The Standard of August 10, that Mr. Jackson coincided with Messrs. Bowditch, Whipple and himself "in wishing all (!) or a fair share [meaning one-half, of course] to be given to the Anti-Slavery Society)." In view of this wide diversity of opinion, I moved to recommend that four thousand two hundred dollars be given to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and five thousand dollars to the New England Freedman's Union Commission; the whole sum in the hands of the Executor being about nine thousand two hundred dollars. Only Mr. Whipple and myself voted upon the motion, Mr. Phillips acting as chairman, and Mr. Jackson and Mr. Quincy remaining silent, but finally acquiescing in the vote. I was induced to make this motion, not only because the Trustees were so nearly equally divided as to their preferences, but mainly because *at that time the Freedmen were without the ballot;* Mr. Phillips making much of the fact that The Standard was zealously advocating suffrage for them, and I being not less desirous than himself to secure it in their behalf.

This decision of the Trustees was duly transmitted by the Secretary to the Master in Chancery, who invited them to appear before him on the 15th of May, for a further expression of their views. As I could not be present in person, in consequence of my sailing for Europe on the 8th of that month, it was alike my right and my duty to send my opinion in writing, especially if anything had occurred materially to change it since the meeting of the Trustees in January. I accordingly wrote a brief letter to my friend Mr. May, saying—"Happily, since we met, by the Reconstruction bill passed by Congress *the Southern freedmen have been put in possession of the elective franchise*, and are now voting, and even being voted for. Under these circumstances, I feel released from adhesion to the motion I made, and would advise that no division of Mr. Jackson's bequest be made; but that it be given without delay, and as a whole, to the New England Freedman's Union Commission, thoroughly satisfied that it cannot be so surely and efficiently expended for the enlightenment, elevation and freedom of the emancipated bondmen of the South through any other channel or instrumentality." The hearing duly came off before the Master, Mr. Phillips advocating his own views at length, in favor of the Anti-Slavery Standard. The Master reported in favor of giving the entire bequest to the Commission; whereupon Mr. Phillips and his associates appealed to the Court itself to get his report modified (Mr. Phillips using all his rhetorical skill and eloquence on the occasion), but without success. I still believe it was a wise and righteous decision, and the best use of the money that could be made in behalf of the very class for whom it was intended by the philanthropic testator. For, not a dollar being needed to agitate the question of suffrage for the freedmen, (that having been settled by a patriotic Congress), the specific, fundamental, paramount work of the hour is the establishment of schools in every part of the South, to furnish the freedmen with that knowledge which is power, and which is essential to their elevation and security. For truly has Senator Sumner declared, in his place in the United States Senate, that "universal suffrage will be a barren sceptre without universal education." In furtherance of this noble object, the Court decided to appropriate the whole of Mr. Jackson's unexpended legacy. I appeal to common sense and sound reason, does this furnish any ground for hot denunciation of the Court, or a passionate attack upon such of the Trustees as favored this consecration of the fund? Yet Mr. Phillips treats it as though it were an iniquitous transaction, derogatory to the character of all concerned in it, and nothing better than a gross perversion of the bequest! For what does he say of the Court?

"*Pre-eminently unjust* as we deem the decision of the Court"—"this *robbery of our treasury*"—we call this *a gross perversion of Mr. Jackson's money*"—"it was *wholly diverted from the object for which he intended it.*" . . .

"This decision need not surprise any one. A Court which held the infamous Fugitive Slave bill constitutional," etc., etc.—"such a Court would, *of course*, rob us of all it could, and gladly pay homage to the popular movements of the day. . . . Any time during the last thirty years, if my only aim in life had been safety, I would have fled from the charge of stealing the Boston State House, rather than have stood trial before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Its decision, therefore, in the present case, gives me no surprise. *Such a Court naturally aids those of us who have left the front rank and the most unpopular post.*"

Is this the language of reason or of passion? Assuredly, it is an outpouring of invective alike uncalled for and indefensible. The Court neither cherished nor evinced any other intention than to make the best possible use of the legacy in the service of the class for whom it was designed. Of this fact, Mr. Phillips shall himself be witness; for in the very article containing these bitter aspersions he says—"There seems little if any doubt, that whatever plan *the Trustees* should advise would be accepted by the *Master*," and therefore by *the Court;* for, otherwise, there would be no force or pertinency in the statement. Again, he says—"There is no doubt that the *Master in Chancery* would have reported any plan that Mr. Jackson's *Trustees* would have united in recommending," and, therefore, such plan would have met the approval of *the Court.* Again—"*The Trustees* were assured that any plan *they* could agree to recommend would be adopted by *the Court.*" Finally, he says—"Slavery having been legally abolished, *the Court* ordered that the money bequeathed shall be used *to carry out, as nearly as possible, what would be the wishes of the testator in such circumstances.*" So much for "a Court that would, *of course*, rob us of all it could!" Mr. Phillips, almost in the same breath, refutes himself, and fully vindicates the Court.

Declaring that, at no time for the last thirty years, would he have willingly stood trial before that Court on any charge however absurd or monstrous, he again refutes himself by saying—"Messrs. Bowditch, Whipple, E. Jackson and Phillips *appealed to the Court itself*" from the adverse report of the Master in Chancery! What! appeal for justice in such a case to a Court which, in 1850, "held the infamous Fugitive Slave bill to be constitutional," and which would, "*of course*, rob us of all it could!" What infatuation! But how are such paradoxical statements to be reconciled?

Let it be kept in mind, as showing a most friendly and equitable spirit on the part of this grossly-maligned Court, that at the time its decision was made upon the validity of Mr. Jackson's Anti-Slavery legacies, slavery had been abolished by a national decree; so that there were neither slaves to be emancipated nor fugitive slaves any longer to be succored; an event which Mr. Jackson did not imagine could take place before his legacies would be expended, if, indeed, during the present century. As neither of these legacies referred to a state of personal freedom, but to a state of chattel slavery, by a strict adherence to the letter of the will the Court, if it had been so disposed, might have pronounced their objects consummated, and awarded the money to the heirs. Instead of doing this, however, it very properly decreed that the money should be given to the freedmen, to supply them with schools and teachers, and thus prepare them for the duties and responsibilities of American citizens; righteously assuming that such would be the desire and conduct of Mr. Jackson, were he a living participant in the efforts making for their enlightenment and elevation. All honor to such a Court!

Mr. Phillips further exonerates the Court from blame, and again makes an alleged minority of the *Trustees* responsible for the enormity inveighed against, when he says—"We call on all abolitionists for aid the more earnestly for this great wrong done us by *old associates.*" Again—"Mr. Jackson's money was wholly diverted from the object for which he intended it because a *minority of his Trustees* [meaning Messrs. Quincy, May and Garrison] were unwilling to accord to the majority that liberty of opinion which the majority granted to them, and so report a plan in which all could agree." This charge is as absurd as it is unfounded. As if the "minority," however perverse, could prevent the "majority" from indulging in any "liberty of opinion"—or from expressing that opinion, too, as they certainly did in the most emphatic manner.

Mr. Phillips cruelly wrongs his "old associates" by imputing to them base motives and aims, and intimating that, in the day of its triumph over all opposition—*mirabile dictu!*—they have become recreant to a cause which, through more than thirty years of persecution and ostracism, they maintained unflinchingly!

Having assailed the Supreme Court and his "old associates" in this opprobrious style, Mr. Phillips indulges in the following fling at the late Ex-Gov. Andrew, who, as President of the New England Freedman's Union Commission, very properly appeared as counsel for the same, inasmuch as the Commission was directly interested in the matter:

"Ex-Gov. Andrew—the Governor who allowed the last meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society during Francis Jackson's life-time to be mobbed out of its hall without lifting a finger to protect it—appeared as the chief speaker, to advise how Francis Jackson's anti-slavery bequest should be used! Verily, our Governors monopolize the virtue of modesty!" * * * "Again Mr. Ex-Gov. Andrew intruded himself into the business, impudently advising Messrs. Bowditch, Edmund Jackson, and the rest, if their cause needed money, to ask it of their comrades and fellows, and not to come there!" The noble man whose decease has since occurred, universally lamented as a national loss, and characterized for his sympathy and friendship for the colored people (having for years warmly espoused their cause, and shrunk from no odium or loss on their account), for his large-hearted humanity, his efficient and incorruptible patriotism, and his readiness to do and dare everything for liberty in accordance with his convictions of duty, needs no defence against this outbreak of personal bitterness. Only a few weeks before the Anti-Slavery meeting was held which he is alleged, as Governor, cravenly to have allowed to be mobbed with impunity, Mr. Phillips publicly bestowed the following well-merited eulogy upon his character:

"For the first time within my memory we have got a man for Governor of Massachusetts, a frank, true, whole-souled, honest man That gain alone is worth all the labor. But the office is not the most important in the Commonwealth; only now and then it becomes commanding—in a sad Burns week, for instance. But, in common times, the Chief-Justiceship is far more commanding—is the real Gibraltar of our State contests. *John A. Andrew should have been Chief-Justice.* Gov. Andrew or Judge Andrew sounds equally well. But I like the right man in the right place. The Chief-Justiceship belongs to the party of progress."

It is to be noted, that the Court over which Mr. Phillips was so desirous of having Gov. Andrew preside, was the identical Court before which, it seems, he last Summer "intruded himself, impudently advising" how to expend a legacy for the benefit of the freedmen! If he had been the Chief-Justice on that occasion, would he have come to a very different conclusion?

But a single month prior to the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society referred to, in a lecture on "Mobs and Education," by Mr. Phillips, in Music Hall, alluding to Gov. Andrew he said:

"Carve in letters of gold in every school-house this letter of our loved Governor elect—the best word a Massachusetts Governor has said since the first Winthrop gave his fine definition of civil liberty. Mr. Andrew says:

"'The right to think, to know, and to utter, as John Milton said, is the dearest of all liberties. Without this right, there can be no liberty to any people; with it, there can be no slavery. * * * I care not for the truth or error of opinions held or uttered. * * * Rich or poor, white or black, great or small, wise or foolish, in season or out of season, in the right or in the wrong, whosoever will speak, let him speak, and whosoever will hear, let him hear. And let no one pretend to the prerogative of judging another man's liberty. In this respect there is, and there can be, no superiority of persons or privileges, nor the slightest pretext for any.'"

"Thank God for such a Governor to come!" exclaimed Mr. Phillips. Such was his high estimate of John A. Andrew only one short month before he played the poltroon as Governor, in the presence of a pro-slavery mob! It is indeed possible for a man to become recreant to his avowed principles in a much shorter period than that; but will even Mr. Phillips now seek to stain the memory of John A. Andrew with that charge? Certainly, he can hardly have forgotten that, at the interview he had with Gov. Andrew, to induce him to bring out the State militia, the Governor stated that he was powerless to do so in the premises as against the Mayor of Boston; but that he would readily summon a military force to protect the Anti-Slavery meeting, and maintain the public peace, if Mr. Phillips would point out to him a law of the Commonwealth empowering him to do so. Had he believed that he had a legal right to act as requested, not Mr. Phillips himself, had he occupied the same post, would have more promptly or more courageously proceeded to discharge his official duty at all hazards. Warmly sympathizing with the proscribed Abolitionists, and indignant at the worse than pusillanimous conduct of Mayor Wightman, he nevertheless felt that it was not a question of sympathy, but one of Constitutional power, and that power he could not find committed to his hands.

Mr. Phillips falsely assumes that the legacy of Mr. Jackson belongs to the American Anti-Slavery Society, which he claims to represent. His language is, "This robbery of our treasury"—"This great wrong done us by old associates," etc. What was never bequeathed to that Society cannot be taken from it. If Mr. Jackson had intended that that Society should be entrusted with it, he would have so provided in his will. But if, while slavery was in full operation and seemingly impregnable, he preferred not to bequeath this money to that Society, but committed it to certain trustees, it is preposterous to claim that, with not a slave left to be emancipated, he would now prefer to have it expended through such a channel.

The assertion is still more preposterous that "Mr. Jackson's money was wholly diverted from the object for which he intended it." If it be true, however, then Mr. Phillips stands convicted of having consented, at the meeting of the trustees in January, to "a gross perversion" of more than half the amount of the legacy—namely, five thousand dollars to the Freedmen's Commission—and so defrauding the Anti-Slavery Society to that amount! If, on the contrary, it is neither robbery nor a gross perversion to give this sum to the Commission, why may it not be as innocent an act to cast the entire legacy into its treasury? What principle is involved in the case? None. It is simply a choice of instrumentalities in behalf of the same class.

The statement that "Messrs. Garrison and Quincy *claimed* all the fund for the freedmen," is also incorrect. They made no *claim.* They only suggested in what way they believed the best use could be made of the fund, leaving it for the Court to decide the matter. Mr. Phillips and his associates exercised the same liberty on their side.

It is not a doubtful matter in my mind how Mr. Jackson would act were he now living. For several years before his death, he very decidedly expressed his conviction, at Board meetings, Executive Committee meetings, and on other occasions, that a better use could be made of Anti-Slavery funds than by continuing the publication of The Standard (absorbing as it did the greater portion of those funds), much as he liked the paper. If this was his state of mind when slavery was dominant over Church and State, over Government and Nation, is it credible that he would wish so to bestow his bequest, now that slavery is abolished? Had this fact occurred to me (as it did not) at the time of the meeting of the Trustees in January, I am quite sure I should have supported the proposition of Mr. Edmund Jackson, to give but one quarter part of the legacy to The Standard, if even that amount. That paper has no longer special Anti-Slavery functions, but is simply the mouth-piece of Mr. Phillips, who is not merely "associate editor," but who controls its columns absolutely in all controverted matters. The printing of it is a heavy pecuniary load to carry; and hence the eagerness to secure the Jackson fund, and the heat of disappointment. Once, the work of vindicating the negro's rights was confined to two or three journals in the land. Now, the loyal press of the country universally sustain the action of Congress, clothing the freedmen with all the rights and immunities of American citizens; and they are now actively participating in the formation of the several State Constitutions at the South, in defiance of rebel hostility. It is a marvellous spectacle. What they specially need, at this juncture, to enable them to maintain their rights, is knowledge and education; and to this end the money of Mr. Jackson is to be faithfully appropriated by the Freedmen's Commission, composed of some of the best men and women in Massachusetts. "A gross perversion of the fund," "a robbery of our treasury," excitedly exclaims Mr. Phillips! But in the very same article he shows that this allegation is utterly baseless, as follows:

"The American Anti-Slavery Society gives the heartiest God-speed to the Freedmen's Bureau [meaning the Freedmen's Commission, as the Bureau is not in the case at all], the sincerity of its sympathy proved not only by personal effort, but by the labors of more than thirty years, and the pledges of its Constitution. Indeed, *the Freedmen's Bureau comes, at this day, to work in a field to which the American Anti-Slavery Society long ago devoted itself, and in which it has never ceased to labor—the elevation, education and protection of the free people of color.*"

I am not aware that the American Anti-Slavery Society, under the leadership of Mr. Phillips, has at any time placed on record its "heartiest God-speed" to the freedmen's educational movement, or taken any interest in its success, or sent a single teacher to the South, or had a single editorial appeal in its favor in The Standard. In this I may be mistaken; but of one thing I am sure, and that is, if the Freedmen's Bureau is, as Mr. Phillips admits, working in the same field with the Anti-Slavery Society, and therefore deserving "the heartiest God-speed," it cannot be "a gross perversion of Mr. Jackson's money," but, on the contrary, it must be an excellent use of it, to expend it for "the elevation, education and protection of the free people of color," through a channel so meritorious and trustworthy! "The head and front of my offending hath this extent—no more."

Mr. Phillips reveals how little there is in his "heartiest God-speed," in the following slur:

"When it is remembered that the Freedmen's Bureau, filled with bishops, generals, governors and senators, counts its means by hundreds of thousands, and levies its willingly offered tribute on the millionnaires of the land * * that Mr. Jackson never gave money to the popular benevolent societies, * * * while our claim for *fundamental rights* is weak, isolated and unpopular, the ground will be appreciated on which we call this a gross perversion of Mr. Jackson's money."

A very worthless "God-speed" this! When did Francis Jackson ever hesitate to give his money to any benevolent society, having for its sole object "the elevation, education and protection of the people of color?" There is no analogy in these cases.

As to the resources of the Freedmen's Commission, Mr. Phillips will learn on inquiry that, with all its alleged "popularity," its treasury is empty, its means entirely inadequate to its needs, and the difficulty of procuring funds very considerable. Twenty thousand schools need to be established where there are now less than two thousand; there is no lack of applications on the part of teachers well qualified, but these have to be rejected by scores, because of lack of money. Indeed, had it not been for the timely and generous contributions of our English friends, many of the schools in operation would never have been established, or would have had to be abandoned long ere this. The New England Commission has already been compelled to curtail the number of teachers employed by it, and needs immediate aid. As it is, upwards of a hundred thousand of the freed population have been taught to read, multitudes to read, write and cipher, and a considerable number have attained proficiency in the higher branches; facts of the most cheering character, and of inestimable importance in the work of reconstruction.

Mr. Phillips talks of "the need of *securing*, of guaranteeing, beyond all possible danger, *fundamental rights*"—as if he led a forlorn hope—as if this is not the very conflict which is shaking the nation, and which the loyal ranks are committed to see triumphantly carried! It is folly and egotism to pretend to Anti-Slavery isolation as in the days of slavery. The midnight torch is of no consequence in the blaze of the noonday sun.

Mr. Phillips complains—"The Master in Chancery reported that the whole fund should go to the freedmen, basing his decision largely, as he said, on the letter Mr. Garrison left on his departure for Europe." Well, if my brief letter had more weight with the Master than Mr. Phillips's personal presence and earnest advocacy of his own views, am I to be reproached on that account? But if Mr. Phillips supposes that the Master would have reported in favor of giving any portion of the bequest to The Standard, if my letter had not been written, he is mistaken; and the Master will so inform him, if he chooses to make inquiry. It is true, the Master did me the honor to attach some value to my recommendation in favor of the Freedmen's Commission; but his own judgment concurred with mine, though independent of it. To quote his own words from his report to the Court:

"I am unable to devise any better plan. * * Slavery is abolished, and the colored population of the late rebel States are enfranchised by the late Reconstruction acts of Congress, and are entitled legally to the same rights as the white population of those States. It seems, therefore, like throwing money into the sea to appropriate it to the support of a languishing publication, which is but the exponent of an obsolete idea * * The class and the very persons, during this generation, who were the object of the Testator's benevolence, are the class and persons who, under this appropriation, will receive the benefit of it. * * Here is an organized Society [the Freedmen's Commission], the character and efficiency of which all admit. It is expressly intended and exactly fitted for the functions it has undertaken, and which it is now actually discharging. The highest and best men in the nation are enrolled among its directors and supporters. It seems at the hearing to have been conceded that if any part or the whole of this fund was to be applied to the direct education and support of the freedmen, this association was the most proper and efficient channel through which the application should be made. * * If Mr. Jackson himself could have chosen a better agency for the accomplishment of such an object, I do not see how we, acting by our own light, and not by his, can do it for him."

Mr. Phillips says—"We never doubted the entire sincerity of Mr. Garrison,"—as if that concession were of any value in connection with the charge, that I have proved false to the trust reposed in me by Mr. Jackson. Again—"We have only complained that he, one of the minority, was not willing to allow any weight to the opinions of the majority of the Trustees." This is a ridiculous assertion. As if it were not for the Court to decide upon the "weight of opinions" of each and all of the Trustees! Again—"Mr. Garrison acted as if he were the sole Trustee!" Another mis-statement. I acted precisely as Mr. Phillips did—when asked by the Master in Chancery for my opinion, I gave it! So did he. It seems that my opinion had more weight with the Master than his own; ergo, "Mr. Garrison acted as if he were the sole Trustee!"—"When his arguments failed to convince his fellows—men entrusted by Mr. Jackson with the same power as himself—*he appealed to an outside authority*, a prejudiced and pro-slavery court, to *crush the fellow Trustees whom he could not convince.* * * *He seized the baton of law to crush opinions which his arguments could not change*—the baton of lawyers who, *he must have been aware*, were wholly unable to do justice to the character and ideas of Mr. Jackson. Mr. Garrison's friends and ours will judge whether the state of public affairs justify him in such a course. To us it seems *unjust to Mr. Jackson, and unfair and unfriendly to Mr. Garrison's co-Trustees.*" My reply to this arraignment is, there is not a word of truth in it. If it be true, I must have fallen very low indeed, or language has no meaning. But I never sought the Master in Chancery, nor took an appeal to the Supreme Court. *That appeal it was left for Mr. Phillips himself to take*, in order to carry his own ends! Read his words: "The Master reported that the whole fund should go to the freedmen. Messrs. Bowditch, Whipple, E. Jackson, and Phillips *appealed to the Court itself.*" At that very time I was in Europe! The letter I wrote, as expressive of my views, before leaving, was not even addressed to the Master, but to my co-Trustee, Rev. Samuel May, Jr. (than whom the colored race has never had a more faithful or more disinterested friend and advocate), to be read by him or not, at the hearing, as he might deem best.

Summing up the whole matter, specification by specification, I affirm that

1. It is not true that the decision of the Court was "pre-eminently unjust," or "a gross perversion of the fund."

2. It is not true that any "misdirection" was given by the Court "to means justly belonging to the American Anti-Slavery Society." No claim was made by Mr. Phillips in the name of that Society, but only in behalf of The Standard.

3. It is not true that there has been any "robbery of the treasury" of that Society by the decision of the Court.

4. It is not true that the Court is "pro-slavery;" for such a Court would be in violation of the Constitution of Massachusetts, and of the Constitution of the United States. "The Fugitive Slave Law" is an obsolete issue.

5. It is not true that "the Trustees were assured that any plan they could agree to recommend would be adopted by the Court." But this assertion of Mr. Phillips completely refutes all his charges against the Court as animated by a pro-slavery spirit, and incapable of doing justice to the wishes of Mr. Jackson. The exact truth is (to quote Mr. Phillips again), "the Court ordered that the money bequeathed should be used to carry out as nearly as possible, *what would be the wishes of the Testator* in such circumstances;" and, after giving all parties an impartial hearing, unanimously selected the New England Freedman's Commission for that purpose.

6. It is not true that Ex-Governor Andrew "intruded himself into the business," for he was requested to act as counsel in behalf of the Commission; nor was he so lost to self-respect as to behave "impudently" towards any of the Trustees.

7. It is not true that we, whom Mr. Phillips arraigns for recreancy, "have left the front rank and the most unpopular post;" for we stand precisely where we have always stood in demanding equal rights for our colored countrymen. I know of no claim that Mr. Phillips makes in their behalf that I did not advocate years before he participated in the Anti-Slavery conflict; nor is it possible for him to occupy a more radical position than I have taken from the beginning, and kept to this hour. This slur upon "old associates" is evidence of great self-inflation, if it be not a pitiable hallucination of mind,—and is certainly undeserved, assuming as it does superior Anti-Slavery zeal, courage and fidelity.

8. It is not true that those "old associates" have been guilty of "a great wrong," or of any wrong; but they have acted scrupulously as they believe Mr. Jackson would wish them to act in the case, convinced that no better use can possibly be made of his legacy.

9. It is not true that "a minority of the Trustees were unwilling to accord to the majority that liberty of opinion which the majority granted them;" nor that "they preferred to avail themselves of outside and prejudiced power to carry out their views."

10. It is not true that "Mr. Garrison acted as if he were the sole Trustee;" nor "that he was not willing to allow any weight to the opinions of the majority of the Trustees;" nor that "he appealed to an outside authority, a prejudiced and pro-slavery Court;" nor that "he seized the baton of law to crush opinions which his arguments could not change." All this is the rhetoric of passion and the very spirit of defamation.

I need not say that this controversy is inexpressibly painful to me, but it is not of my seeking. Mr. Phillips having chosen publicly to bring the gravest accusations against me and my associates (Messrs. Quincy and May), affecting our integrity and honor as Trustees, and our character as Abolitionists, I know of nothing in our past friendship and co-operation to bind me to silence, or to give him impunity in his work of traducement. Having made a full and truthful statement of all the facts in the case, I submit it to the judgment of all who take any interest in it.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Boston, Feb. 25, 1868.

LITERARY.

From Jeaffreson's "Book About Lawyers" we extract the following upon

EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEAKING.

One prominent feature in the Advocate's education must always be elocutionary practice. "Talk; if you can, to the point, but anyhow talk," has been the motto of Advocacy from time immemorial. Heneage Finch, who, like every member of his silver-tongued family, was an authority on matters pertaining to eloquence, is said to have advised a young student "to study all the morning, and talk all the afternoon." Sergeant Maynard used to express his opinion of the importance of eloquence to a lawyer by calling the law "*ars babiativa.*" Roger North says "He whose trade is speaking must not, whatever comes of it, fail to *speak*, for that is a fault in the main much worse than impertinence." At a recent address to the students of the London University, Lord Brougham urged those of his auditors who intended to adopt the profession of the law to habituate themselves to talk about everything.

In the Sixteenth Century the young law students had clubs for the practice of elocution. In Charles IId time Pool's company was such a club. Roger North says, "Aptness of speaking" is got at such clubs, and adds, "for a man may be possessed of a *book-case*, and think he has it at his finger's ends, but when he offers at it, he shall find himself at a loss, and his words not right or proper, perhaps too many, and his expressions confused: when he has talked his case over, and his friends have tossed it a little to and fro, then he shall utter it more readily, with fewer words and much more force." To such fraternities Lords Mansfield and Thurlow, Law and Erskine, had recourse; and, besides attending to the strictly professional clubs, it was usual for the students to practise elocution at coffee-houses and public sporting-rooms of the town. Thurlow was the irrepressible talker of Nando's. Erskine used to carry his scarlet uniform from Lincoln's Inn Hall to the smoke-laden atmosphere of Coachmakers' Hall, a closely-packed assembly of politicians, idlers and drunkards. Thither also Horne Tooke, Dunning and Kenyon used to adjourn after dining on seven pence half-penny each. "Dunning and myself," Horne Tooke used to boast, "were generous, for we gave the girl who waited on us a penny a piece; Kenyon, who always knew the value of money, rewarded her with a half-penny, and sometimes with a *promise.*"

The *Radical* has recently been reinforced in its editorial department by the addition of Mr. Joseph B. Marvin. In the number for February Mr. Morse says:

"I congratulate the friends of the *Radical*, and introduce Mr. Joseph B. Marvin as my associate to conduct the Magazine in future. This union, I may say, has, in good part, existed from the beginning. From him I have received many suggestions of true value, which I am happy here to acknowledge. Mr. Marvin has agreed with me that the enterprise should bate nothing of its original purpose. Together we say, *America is a Religion, an enthusiasm for a Principle.* Together we re-pledge the *Radical* a contribution to the growth of Intellectual Freedom, which inevitably carries in its train every blessing and happiness."

The *Radical*, from the first number, has been excellent in its moral tone and ably conducted. It has steadily increased in size from its original unpretending sixteen pages to an eighty page, handsome monthly magazine. We congratulate Mr. Morse upon the substantial evidence of a merited prosperity which the *Radical* presents, and upon the good fortune of an efficient editorial helper which the accession of Mr. Marvin secures to him.

The February number contains an excellent article on "The Career of Religion," by J. S. Patterson; a thoughtful and valuable article on the "Woman Question," by David Cronyn; a good paper on "Citizenship and Suffrage," by David Plumb; a translation of About's Progress, by Henry B. Blackwell; "Tablets," by A. Bronson Alcott; and several other articles of much interest. The March number opens with an article entitled "The Unity and Universality of the Religious Ideas," by the Rev. Samuel Longfellow; and contains contributions from the Rev. John Weiss, "The Essential Jesus;" Col. T. W. Higginson, "The Pedigree of Liberalism;" "A letter from Washington," by Richard J. Hinton; A. Bronson Alcott, "Plutarch;" a continuation of the translation of About's "Progress," by Henry B. Blackwell, and other very interesting matter.

The subscription price of the *Radical* is three dollars a year in advance. We shall continue, as heretofore, to receive subscriptions for it, in connection with The Standard, the two, to one address, at five dollars per annum.

Mrs. Cobden announces in the Manchester *Examiner* that she proposes to arrange, with a view to publication, a collection of Mr. Cobden's letters on public questions, commencing with those on national education.

Household Foes is the title of a discourse by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, just issued in a neatly-printed pamphlet of eighteen pages, by William P. Tomlinson, at 39 Nassau street, in this city.

Mr. Tomlinson has in press, to appear next week, a discourse entitled "The Lord's Freedman," by Rev Frederick Frothingham; a pamphlet edition of sixteen pages.

RECEIVED.

The Radical for March, S. H. Morse and J. B. Marvin, editors. Boston: Adams & Co.

The Galaxy for March. New York: W. C. & F. P. Church, No. 39 Park Row.

The Phrenological Journal for February. S. R. Wells, editor. New York: 389 Broadway.

Demorest's Monthly Magazine for April. New York: W. J. Demorest, 473 Broadway.

Blackwood's Magazine for February. New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Co.

The Friend for March. Alice Loines Bunker, editor. New York: 131 William street.

Household Foes; A discourse by Rev. O. B. Frothingham. New York: W. P. Tomlinson, 39 Nassau street.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Littell's Living Age. Boston Littell & Gay.

DRAMATIC.

MRS. FRANCES ANNE KEMBLE.

Since our last, Mrs. Kemble has completed her first and entered upon a second course of readings. The interest manifested has steadily deepened in enthusiasm, and each successive rendering is enjoyed by cultured audiences such as similar order of entertainments rarely witness. Indeed, could Mrs. Kemble remain long enough with us, we would indulge in a hope of the regeneracy of the present vitiated taste—of a revival of the love for the legitimate drama. Ristori and our own Mrs. Lander, for us each has done much, and for the re-kindling of genuine admiration for the higher in art, the public to the superb renderings of Mrs. Kemble are deeply indebted.

On the evening of the 9th inst, "Julius Cæsar" was given; on the 11th inst., "The Merry Wives of Windsor;" on the evening of the 13th inst., Mrs. Kemble will read "Measure for Measure," and at the matinee of the day following (Saturday,) "Macbeth," closing the course and, for the present, her engagements in this city.

On Monday next, the 16th inst., Mrs. Kemble commences her engagement, at Concert Hall, Philadelphia, under the same excellent management, reading "Anthony and Cleopatra" on the evening of the 16th inst.; "As You Like It," the Wednesday morning following; "Much Ado About Nothing," on the evening of the 20th inst., and "Romeo and Juliet" on the morning following (Saturday). We trust that our Philadelphia friends will not omit this opportunity of enjoying one of the rarest intellectual treats ever offered the public.

W. F. T.

Special Notices.

PUBLISHING AND BOOK FURNISHING AGENCY.

The undersigned resp

Miscellaneous Department.

A PARABLE.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Said Christ our Lord, "I will go and see
How the men, my brethren, believe in me."
He passed not again through the gate of birth,
But made himself known to the children of earth.

Then said the Chief Priests, and rulers, and Kings,
"Behold now, the Giver of all good things;
Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state
Him who is alone mighty and great."

With carpets of gold the ground they spread
Wherever the Son of Man should tread,
And in palace chambers lofty and rare
They lodged him and served him with kingly fare.

Great organs surged through arches dim,
Their jubilant floods in praise of Him,
And in church and palace, and judgment hall,
He saw his image high over all.

But still, wherever His steps they led,
The Lord in sorrow bent down His head,
And from under the heavy foundation stones,
The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.

And in church, and palace, and judgment hall,
He mark'd great fissures that rent the wall,
And opened wider, and still more wide,
And the living foundation heaved and sigh'd.

"Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then
On the bodies and souls of living men?
And think ye that building shall endure
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?

"With gates of silver and bars of gold,
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold:
I have heard the dropping of their tears,
In Heaven, these eighteen hundred years."

"O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,
We built but as our fathers built;
Behold Thine images how they stand,
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

"Our task is hard—with sword and flame—
To hold thy earth forever the same,
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep
Still, as Thou leftest them, Thy sheep."

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-brow'd, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin,
Pushed from her family want and sin.

These set He in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garments hem,
For fear of defilement, "Lo, here," said he,
"The images ye have made of Me!"

ROBERT LOWE ON THE GREAT POLITICAL CHANGES IN ENGLAND.

THE following answer has been given by Mr. Lowe to an address from two hundred and fifty graduates of the University of London:

34 LOWNDES-SQUARE, February 10.

GENTLEMEN: I receive with pleasure and gratitude the request from so many distinguished graduates that I should offer myself as a candidate for the honor of representing the University of London in Parliament. As the University was founded on liberal principles by liberal men, and is the truest and fullest expression yet attained of all that is free, progressive, and unsectarian in education, the person who aspires to represent it ought, in my judgment, to hold thoroughly Liberal opinions, and be a member of the party to which the University owes its existence. In ordinary times I should have thought it sufficient to refer you to my votes and speeches during the fifteen years which comprise my Parliamentary life, and to my labors on many Royal Commissions, and on select committees. I have ever striven, to the best of my ability, to reform our law by bringing it within the principles of enlightened jurisprudence, to abolish all distinctions and disabilities founded on religious belief, to keep our practice in strict conformity with the principles of political economy, to substitute merit for patronage as a means of entering and rising in the public service, to promote the education of all classes, to enforce economy in the public expenditure, and to restrict the interference of the State within narrow and definite limits, so as to leave the utmost scope consistent with order and good government to private enterprise and discretion. I may mention, among other measures which I have carried through the House of Commons, the Joint-Stock Companies act of 1856, the act for giving permanence to the medical department of the Privy Council, the enlargement of the powers of the Charity Commission, and the change in the minutes of education known as the Revised Code. But the political conjuncture is so singular, and the state of society so disorganized, that it may be advisable to say something definite on the present and future as well as the past. I dissented from the policy of the liberal party on the parliamentary franchise because I thought, and still think, that really liberal and enlightened measures and administration were more likely to be attained under the old than under the new constituencies. The question is decided; argument is at an end, and we wait the teaching of experience. I hope events may prove me to be wrong, and have no wish to revive the controversy. Our duty is, without loss of time to adapt ourselves to the great change that has taken place. We must expect a much greater demand for equality than heretofore, and ought to pass our institutions in review—modifying such things as seem likely to wound this feeling, and founding ourselves upon principles which will bear the test of discussion in a democratic assembly. The redistribution of seats is forced upon us by the change in the franchise, since what has been already done is quite inadequate to bring these two parts of the measure into harmony with each other; I voted last year for a larger disfranchisement of small boroughs, and shall be prepared to do so again. I dissent from the destructive conservatism which would keep the House of Lords just as it is, and would gladly see that House enabled better to resist pressure, by being placed more on the footing of a senate where distinguished merit might find a place beside rank and wealth. It is not safe to stake everything on the vote of a single Chamber. I view the revenues of the so-called Church of Ireland as the property of the State, the appropriation of which may properly be changed with a due respect for vested interests; and the Church itself, as an unjust institution, irritating to Ireland, and discreditable to us in the eyes of foreign nations. I wish to preserve mixed education in Ireland intact, and for all other students than those of Queen's Colleges to found a University in Ireland similar to our own. Several parliamentary investigations of the state of Ireland in which I have been engaged, while they have thoroughly impressed upon me the vast imperial importance of appeasing her discontent and promoting her prosperity, have also taught me that the evils of Ireland are mainly social, theological, and economical. They cannot be remedied, and may easily be aggravated by legislative interference with contracts between private parties acting with full knowledge. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ought, I think, to be governed by such graduates as are concerned with their teaching and discipline. The universities and all collegiate endowments should be open to all persons without religious test, and without requiring them to be members of any college or hall. The colleges should enjoy full powers of legislation and self-government, and should contribute from their revenues whatever may be required to give the universities more teaching power, and a more complete and efficient staff of professors. The time has come when, if we wish to be well-governed at home, or respected abroad, we must make education accessible to all. This can be done without any immediate destruction of the existing system, by establishing secular schools, supported by rates wherever voluntary exertion fails. I have served for fourteen years a Commissioner for making a code of procedure and of substantive law for India, and the experience which I have gained in this way has taught me that it is both possible and expedient to reduce the law of England to a code, that the distinction between law and equity ought to be abolished, and that the law of real property ought, allowance being made for the difference in the subject matter, to be assimilated to the law of personal property. As a part of this position I have supported the bill for the division of the estates of intestate owners in fee simple, according to the Statute of Distributions. I do not wish to make this measure a stepping-stone to a compulsory division of land, or to any restriction of the freedom of the owner to sell or settle it. My reason for supporting this measure is, that the law, when it makes a will for a man, should make a just will, and that is not just to give all to one child, and leave the others, especially the female children, to starve. I am extremely anxious for peace, and therefore am opposed to a meddling diplomacy, and to the delusive idea that the real strength of England can be increased by the forcible acquisition of territories, imposing heavy burdens on her people, without giving men to her armies or taxes to her exchequer. Economy is little regarded in these days, but I believe extravagance to be doubly an evil—as a needless waste of the money of the people, and as the sure sign of inefficiency. The true way to save is not the cutting down of single items, but a more complete organization of our departments, and the determination that, for whatever the country spends, it shall have full value in labor, talent, or materials. The Revised Code has saved us half a million a year, but it has been by making the department of education more efficient. I cannot expect that all these opinions will command your assent. I can only hope that they will appear to you on the whole, not unsuited to one who aspires to the high honor of representing the University of London in Parliament. I am, gentlemen, your obliged and faithful servant, ROBERT LOWE.

THE VEILED PROPHET.

IN his book on Central Asia, Arminius Vambery gives an account of Mokanna, the original of the "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" in Moore's "Lalla Rookh." Mokanna occupied himself in early youth with acquiring all kinds of knowledge, including enchantments and secret arts. At length he gave himself out as a prophet, and proclaimed to his adherents that he had existed earlier in the world as Adam, Ibrahim, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, and called upon them to follow him to Paradise. He continually wore a veil to conceal his deformity, as his features were distorted, and he was one-eyed and bald. He obtained many followers, and the greater part of the villages around Samarcand and Bokhara went over to his party. After a contest of many years between Mokanna and the Mohammedans, the prophet was driven across the Oxus, and retreated into a strong fortress on the mountain of Sam, where he finally perished. M. Vambery says:

Mokanna, the mysterious prophet, kept himself during this period always in the fortress, attended by one hundred of the loveliest women of Transoxania. The interior of the castle was kept only for these with himself and one male page; besides these there was no earthly eye permitted to penetrate into his sanctuary. They say that 50,000 of his followers lay at the gate of the fortress, and earnestly implored him to show but once his godlike splendor. He refused, and sent his page with the message: "Say to my servants that Musa (Moses) also wished to see my godhead, but the beams of my splendor he could not support. My glance kills instantly the earth-born." The enthusiastic adherents assured him that they would gladly offer their lives as a sacrifice, if this high enjoyment was allowed to them. When he could not furthermore deny them, Mokanna consented to their entreaty, and appointed them to come at a certain time before the gate of the fortress, where he promised to show himself. On the evening of the appointed day, he ordered that his women should be placed in a line, with looking glasses in their hands; as the beams of the setting sun were reflected in the looking glasses, and when everything was illuminated by that reflection, he ordered them to open the doors. The splendor blinded the eyes of his devoted adherents, who fell prostrate and called out: "God! enough for us of thy glory; for if we see it more all will be destroyed!" They lay long in the dust supplicating him, until at length he sent his page with the message: "God is pleased with you, and he has given you for your use the good of all the world."

Fourteen years long Mokanna is reported to have lived in this fortress, consuming his time with women in drinking and carousing. The Arab field-marshal, Said Hersi, had at last, after a hard siege, driven him into straits. The outer part was taken, and there was only the inaccessible citadel on a higher eminence. With the extinction of his ascendant star, Mokanna was abandoned by his followers, and when he saw the inevitable ruin nigh he decided, in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies, rather to destroy himself with his women and treasures. He gave to the women, at a last carouse, a strong dose of poison in wine, and challenged them to empty a goblet with him. All drank but one, who poured the wine into her bosom, and, as an eye-witness, told later the whole catastrophe. According to her, Mokanna, after all the women had fallen dead, cut off the head of his faithful page, and, quite naked, burnt himself and his treasures in a furnace, which had been heated for three days. He announced before that he wished to go to heaven to call the angels to his help. "I have long watched the furnace," said the unfortunate woman who escaped, "but he never came back in that fashion." After the death of Mokanna there were many curious sects and creeds, but they concealed themselves from the ever-increasing power of Islam. Under the Samanides the doctrine of Mohammed spread more and more, and Transoxanian countries became soon famous for their religious zeal.

HOW PAPER IS MADE IN CHINA.—Most of the paper used in China is made from the bark of various trees and plants, and from the bamboo. The manufacture of bamboo paper is carried on extensively in the southern part of the country. In selecting stock from the bamboo plantations on the mountains, preference is given to the stems which are about to put out branches and leaves. Early in the month of June the canes are cut into pieces from five to seven feet long, and placed in a pit which is supplied with water. After soaking for several weeks the canes are beaten with mallets, in order to remove the thick bark and green skin. The remaining filaments, resembling a fine sort of hemp, are treated with lime and water raised to a certain temperature. After remaining in this bath for about a week, the filaments are removed, washed with cold water, passed through a ley made of wood ashes, and then placed in a boiler. This process is repeated until the material begins to grow putrid, when it is transferred to a mortar and pounded into pulp by means of water power, after which the mass is treated with bleaching powder. The pulp thus prepared is made by hand into sheets of various thickness by means of a web of silk tissue within a light frame, on to which the workman places the required quantity of pulp. When the water has run off from the corners of the frame, he turns the sheet over on to a large lable, when it is pressed. Each sheet is afterward raised and dried separately in a kiln built for that purpose.

Writing paper is made from the finest part of the bamboo material. Another kind is made by mixing rice straw with the bamboo fibre. A very strong paper used for window blinds and other articles, which in this country are generally constructed of woven substances, is made by mixing 60 per cent. of the bark of a tree called "tchou" with 40 per cent. of bamboo material. Another variety of strong paper is obtained from the bark of the mulberry tree, and is used in the breeding and culture of silkworms. The same material made from thinner pulp is employed in the manufacture of umbrellas, fans, and fire screens. Bark paper, which is to be painted, is first passed through a solution of alum water to destroy the fine filaments which are commonly found on the upper side of the sheet as it lies in the silk tissue frame—the lower side in contact with the tissue being much more smooth. For many uses, when only one color is required, the coloring material is added to the pulp.

RIGHTS OF MARRIED WOMEN.—In the Court of Appeals, at Louisville, an important decision has recently been made affecting the marital rights of women, and holding that a person cannot control or open a wife's private correspondence. The following is part of the decision: Nor would we admit that in this age and country a husband's rightful authority gives him, during marriage, dominion over a wife's chaste and friendly conversation—not affecting his rights; nor that in all plenitude of his marital power he could, without her free consent, take from her or destroy or in any way control the possession or gift of such letters. Any such ungracious interference with her confidential correspondence would impair social confidence and disturb domestic peace, and ought not to be encouraged by the judiciary, especially as it could do him no other good than to gratify a jealous and prying curiosity. According to befitting decorum, and in every valuable sense, such letters, written to her to keep and read and cherish, are hers; and if she, for reasons satisfactory to her own taste and judgment, chose not to give or show them to her husband, she has a right to keep them to herself as her own inviolable property—and a confiding wife will never withhold from a true husband confidential letters without a good and sufficient reason. The existing code of both British and American law recognizes the personal individuality and moral responsibility of wives and consequently guarantees their freedom of thought and interchange of sentiment. Their ideas are their own, their emotions their own, and their affections their own. Here and now a husband must not be a tyrant, and ought not to be a spy on his wife, who is neither his slave nor his mistress, but should always be his free and equal companion.

"THY KINGDOM COME."

AN EXPOSITION.

BY JOHN T. SARGENT.

Our daily prayer! what *means* it—in our hearts,
Our homes, our closets, pulpits—busy marts?
What *meant* it in the heart of him who said,
"After this manner pray ye?" On whose *head*
Shall rest that kingdom's crown? On *theirs*, of course,
Whose Spirit, Life, and Love, and Moral Force
With single aim, from day to day, are given
To equal justice;—and by whom are riven
The chains of the oppressed:—who give release
To slaves in every form, and never cease
Their efforts for the right;—whose earnest soul
Would wrest from tempted lips, the 'wildering bowl;
Who help the poor, and give the blind their sight,
And are to "those in darkness," "a great light!"
Who range the world with quenchless ardor fired,
And, with a will, by Heaven itself inspired,
SPEAK OUT ALL TRUTH, and *strike all Falsehoods dumb?*
E'en so—"Our Father"—"may thy kingdom come!"

THE GREAT SEPTEMBER GALE.

Do you know, dear reader, that I can remember the great September gale of 1815, as if it had blown yesterday? What do you think is really (independently of all imaginative poetical statements) the first image which presents itself to my recollection at this moment, connected with the September gale? Boys are boys, and apples are apples. I can see the large Rhode Island greenings, promise of many a coming banquet, strewed under the tree that used to stand in The Garden—these are what I am really thinking of. They lie strewed about on the floor of my memory at this very instant of time, just as they lay beneath the tree on the 23d of September, 1815. It was an awful blow. Began from the east, got round to the southeast, at last to the south—we have had heavy blows from that quarter since then, as you suggest with your natural, pleasant smile. It tore great elms up by the roots in the Boston Mall, and in the row Mr. Paddock planted by the Granary burial-ground. What was very suggestive, the English elms were the chief sufferers. The American ones, slenderer and more yielding, renewed the old experience of the willows by the side of the oaks.

The wind caught up the waters of the bay and of the river Charles, as mad shrews tear the hair of each others' heads. The salt spray was carried far inland, and left its crystals on the windows of farmhouses and villas. I have, besides more specific recollections, a general remaining impression of a mighty howling, roaring, banging and crashing, with much running about, and loud screaming of orders for sudden taking in of all sail about the premises and battening down of everything that could flap or fly away. The top-railing of our old gambrelled-roofed house could not be take in, and it tried an æronautic excursion as I remember. Dreadful stories came in from scared people that managed somehow to blow into harbor in our mansion. Barns had been unroofed, "chimbleys" overthrown, and there was an awful story of somebody taken up by the wind, and slammed against something with the effect of staving in his ribs—fearful to think of! It was hard travelling that day. Professor Farrar tried with others to reach the river, but they were frequently driven back, and had to screen themselves behind fences and trees, or *tack* against the mighty blast, which drove them back like a powerful current of water.

Boston escaped the calamity of having a high tide in conjunction with the violence of the gale; but Providence was half drowned, the flood rising twelve or fourteen feet above high-water mark.

It is something to have seen or felt or heard the great September gale; I embalmed some of my fresher recollections of it in a copy of verses which some of my readers may have seen. I am afraid there is something of what we may call indulgently *negative veracity* in that youthful effusion. But the greenings are a genuine reminiscence—there they are, lying all about on the floor of my memory, just as the day they were blown off. Time will never pick them up until he picks me up, still carrying with me the recollection of the Rhode Island greenings.—*O. W. Holmes in the "Atlantic Almanac."*

A SOLDIER'S POLITENESS.

DEAR MERRYS: One sees a good deal of character when travelling, especially in horse-cars, and as I do a good deal of the latter sort, I often get a glimpse of the odd, disagreeable, or pleasant side of my fellow-beings. Let me tell you a little scene which was a lesson to all who saw it. Going to Brookline one day, I took a car at a time when it was fullest. As we rolled along I glanced up and down the two rows of faces, and amused myself by studying them. None were particularly attractive except a boy of eighteen, or so, who sat reading in the corner opposite. He wasn't handsome, nor very well dressed; but there was something very pleasant to me in the thin, brown face bent studiously over the book. From the cap he wore and the erect carriage of his shoulders, I fancied that he had been in the army, and liked him all the more for that. While I sat looking at him, an old colored woman got in. All the seats were full, and no one stirred. Two gentlemen had given their places to white ladies, but none of the five seated gentlemen offered the old woman a seat. She was very black and shabby, but the ugly face was kind and patient, and the poor clothes were neat. Having no prejudice against color, I was about to offer my seat, when the boy glanced up, rose instantly, and beckoning, said, respectfully—

"Here's a place, ma'am."

She took it with a motherly "Thanky, dear, thanky," and settled herself with a sigh of satisfaction. Two girls looked at one another and giggled, but stopped suddenly with an altered look when they saw, what none of us had observed before, that the youth was lame. As he arranged his crutch the old gentleman next me bobbed up in an impetuous way, which made me suspect that he was a little ashamed of himself.

"Here, you mustn't stand—sit down, sit down," he said.

"Certainly not, sir, I can stand perfectly well;" and with a decided shake of the head, the boy looked down at his book, coloring a little under the four-and-twenty pairs of eyes fixed on him. The old gentleman wouldn't sit down, and glancing at the boy's cap, he said—

"You've been in the army?"

"Yes, sir, a short time."

"See any fighting?"

"I was at Wagner."

At that quite a little breeze of interest blew through the car, and the old woman patted the end of the boy's coat, that lay on her knee, with a look that was a blessing.

"Got wounded there?" said the old man.

"Lost my foot, sir."

Up I got and insisted that he should sit down. But he laughingly refused, saying he was going to get out, and with a military salute, he left the car. It was curious to see how carefully the ladies drew their skirts out of his way—how respectfully a man opened the door for him, and how gratefully the colored woman's eyes followed him.

It was a small thing to do; but somehow I think every one had learned a lesson of that true gentleman, who had proved he was not only brave, but courteous, in the best sense of the word; for something finer than politeness taught him to respect the woman because she was old, and poor and black. COUSIN TRIBULATION.

—Merry's Museum for February.

BRIEF FROM THE POPE ON FEMALE EDUCATION.—The Pope has addressed a brief to M. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, France, in which he compliments that prelate on the position he has taken with respect to the education of girls. In this document the Pope says:

"One of the plans which these writers in their cynical daring have adopted, is to pervert youth in order the better to attain their object, which is the ruin of religion and authority. They are now carrying out this plan more perseveringly either by corrupting education or by insidious alterations of history, or exciting wicked passions, or by all the manœuvres of a shameless impiety. As the means employed hitherto affected males more than females, and as, for this reason, they did not attain the object as soon as they wished, they now desire to attack even woman, to deprive her of her native modesty, to exhibit her in public, to turn her aside from domestic life and its duties, and to puff her up with false and vain knowledge; so that she who, if properly and religiously brought up, would be like a pure and brilliant light in the house, the glory of her husband, the edification of her family, a fountain of peace and an attraction to piety, will now, full of pride and arrogance, disdain the cares and duties that are proper for woman, will be a germ of division in the household, will pervert her children and become a stumbling block to all. And, what is profoundly deplorable! those who are entrusted with public duties, disregarding this peril which menaces society no less than religion, favor the schemes of impiety by strange and unheard of projects, and thus with the most extreme imprudence assist in the ruin of society which has already begun."

This formal accusation (remarks the Paris *Temps*) is aimed at M. Duruy, the Minister of Public Instruction, and, in consequence of the mechanism of our constitution, it hits higher than even M. Duruy. The *Temps* adds: "Was it to receive lessons of this kind from the Holy See that the French government made the second expedition to Rome and always defends the temporal power?"

BEAUTY.

BEAUTY the offspring is of a free soul
And vigorous healthiness. Free tribes of men
Who have thought nobly, greatly,—simply lived,—
Have in the mass been fair. Would'st thou have beauty,
Then give the people freedom, noble aims,
Busy them with great work. Humanity,
—Even on the way to freedom, as its thought—
Grows freer, nobler, and it sees and lives
More truly, is already on the way
Into that realm of beauty which one day
Shall bloom on earth; for beauty of the form
Does but express a beauty of the soul;
A noble fruit grows from a noble stem.
O what good things Humanity one day
Shall win together and enjoy together.

—From the German of Leopold Schefer.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE STEAMBOAT.—The earliest steamboat upon our Western rivers was launched in the Ohio, at Plattsburg, in 1811. The first to ascend the Missouri were three little government boats, in 1819. A party of engineers and naturalists kept along near them on the shore. The Pawnees, who can yet almost steal the boots from a man's feet without his knowing it, pilfered the horses, provisions and apparatus of the unfortunate *savans*, and left them to wander, hungry and half naked, till they found refuge among the friendly Kaws. These early steamers stemmed the current with difficulty, and were greatly delayed by sand-bars; for this was before steamboats were educated up to walking off on their spars, as a boy walks on his stilts. And they dropped down the river stern foremost, as they were more manageable in that position.

Even in civilized communities, the introduction of the steamboat excited superstitious dread. When Robert Fulton's Clermont appeared on the Hudson, ships' crews who saw her approaching at night against wind and tide, with machinery clanking, paddles clattering, and showers of sparks and volumes of flame streaming from her chimneys, jumped overboard, and swam ashore in terror. Three years later, when Nicholas Roosevelt's Orleans first descended the Ohio, she approached Louisville at Midnight. Hundreds of Kentuckians, awakened by her demoniac screechings, rushed down to the bank, and at first believed that the great comet of that year had fallen into the Ohio! One of the first boats to ascend the Missouri, as if her normal terrors were not enough, carried a figure-head at her prow in the form of a huge serpent. Through this reptile's mouth steam escaped, and the savages who saw it fled in the wildest alarm, fancying that the Spirit of Evil was coming bodily to devour them.—*Atlantic Monthly for March.*

ROTHSCHILD BUYING A TENIERS.—The Paris correspondent of the London *Globe* tells the following story:

"It is announced that Baron Rothschild the elder has just become possessor of a veritable Teniers. Some one, it appears, told him of the arrival of the picture at Paris, and of its being offered for sale, at the same time giving him proofs of its authenticity. The great banker hurried off to the holder of the painting. 'I'll take it,' said he, after a hasty inspection—'how much.' 'One hundred thousand francs' (£4,000 in our money)! 'A hundred thousand francs!' cried the baron, as if such a sum were fearful even to mention; and he offered considerably less. 'No!' cried the owner, peremptorily. The Baron augmented his offer, but met a refusal; increased it again, and was again refused. At last he proposed 50,000 francs. The man of the picture did not say 'No;' but neither did he say 'Yes.' In the hope of overcoming his hesitation, the banker produced a roll of notes, and selected fifty of 1,000 francs each. He spread them out on the table. 'Behold,' said he, with emotion, 'fifty beautiful notes of 1,000 francs each!' The picture man did not take them. 'Fifty notes,' cried the Baron, 'worth infinitely more than their weight in gold—delightful for eye to see, precious for hand to grasp!' The possessor of the Teniers looked at them woefully; the Baron, on his part, gazed on them tenderly, and heaved a sigh. At last, after some bargaining, the mighty capitalist added a few notes to the fifty, and the picture was his."

AN UNDERGROUND RIVER IN OHIO.—It is not generally known that there exists, about a mile west of Fremont, a remarkable underground stream, with a swift current, and no outlet above the surface of the ground this side of Lake Erie. It was discovered several years ago by a man who was returning from a day's chopping in the woods. In walking over a slightly sunken place, he noticed a hollow sound, and turning, struck the ground with his axe. The axe broke through and disappeared, and never has been heard from since. Further investigation showed a rock about six feet below the surface, with a crevice a foot or more wide, in which water could be seen several feet below. By tracing its course further down and breaking through the crust, the same phenomenon appeared again, and by dropping a piece of wood or other floating substance in the upper aperture, it was soon seen to pass the lower one showing a strong current. A lead and line let down to the depth of seventy feet found no bottom. The supply of water is only slightly affected by drouth, and a pump set up in one of the places above mentioned, has furnished the purest water to the whole neighborhood during the late dry season. It is certainly quite a remarkable stream.—*Fremont (Ohio) Journal.*

A PRAYER.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

God! do not let thy loved one die,
But rather wait until the time
That I am grown in purity
Enough to enter thy pure clime,
Then take me, I will gladly go,
So that my love remain below!

O, let her stay! She is by birth
What I through death must learn to be.
We need her more on our poor earth
Than thou canst need in heaven with thee;
She hath her wings already, I
Must burst this earth-shell ere I fly.

Then, God, take me! We shall be near,
More than ever, each to each;
Her angel ears will find more clear
My heavenly than my earthly speech;
And still, as I draw nigh to thee,
Her soul and mine shall closer be.

RELIGIOUS SCHISM IN HUNGARY.—A new sect has arisen from the bosom of the Catholic church in Hungary. The votaries call themselves Nazarenes. They are chiefly of the peasant class, but veil their tenets in much secresy. There is reason to suppose that they reject the dogma of the miraculous birth of Jesus, and have no religious rites. They have no priest class, but whoever feels inspired in a congregation, arises to speak or pray. They refuse baptism to their children, and will swear no oath; nor do they acknowledge any sacred character to marriage, though no polygamy or promiscuity has yet been discovered among them. No distinctive signs of dress or appearance are visible, and they are distinguished in all localities among their neighbors for industry, order and sobriety. The Pesth journals frequently allude to them.

A REMARKABLE DEATH OF AN OLD MAN.—Last Saturday night a most singular event transpired in this county. An old and well-known gentleman by the name of Joel Sullivan, who resided about five miles northeast of Bolivar, died in the following manner: Mr. Sullivan, who had attained the age of eighty-six years, as usual, did a good day's work on Saturday. At night, he went to his home, a large double log house, ate a hearty meal, and, seemingly, in the best of health, retired to rest. About midnight he rose from his bed, crossed the wide hall that separated the two rooms, woke up the members of the family, and told them that *he was dying*, at the same time shaking hands with each one of the inmates, and bidding them a final farewell. He then went back to the room, woke up his grandson, shook hands with him, and told him also that he was dying; after so doing, he seated himself in a chair, his features quickly underwent a change, his limbs relaxed, while a thick film gathered over his eyes. He was taken from the chair and placed upon a bed near by, but the spirit of the old man had fled. His only remark, after bidding the family farewell was, that he seemed to be choking. What a mystery is life! how strange is death!—*Bolivar (Tenn.) Bulletin.*

DOMESTIC LIFE.—The banes of domestic life are littleness, falsity, vulgarity, harshness, scolding, vociferation, an incessant issuing of superfluous prohibitions, and orders, which are regarded as impertinent interferences with the general liberty and repose, and are provocative of rankling or exploding resentments. The blessed antidotes that sweeten and enrich domestic life are refinement, high aims, great interests, soft voices, quiet and gentle manners, magnanimous tempers, forbearance from all unnecessary commands or dictation, and generous allowances of mutual freedom. Love makes obedience lighter than liberty. Man wears a noble allegiance, not as a collar, but as a garland. The Graces are never so lovely as when seen waiting on the Virtues; and, where they thus dwell together, they make a heavenly home.—*Alger's "Friendships of Women."*

ONE day a little girl, about five years old, heard a preacher of a certain denomination praying most lustily till the roof rang with the strength of his supplication. Turning to her mother, and beckoning the maternal ear to a speaking distance, she whispered: "Mother, don't you think if he lived nearer to God he wouldn't have to talk so loud?"

FEMININE SCHOOL OFFICERS.—The Committee on Education of the Massachusetts Legislature recommend the appointment of women on the School Committees throughout the State, declaring that in all the towns it is difficult to find the men who, with ability to fill the office, have time to devote to its duties.

A FULL blooded negro has been granted free admittance to Court circles in Paris, and his attire is decided with the same particularity as that of the Empress! Now for a howl of virtuous Democratic indignation, except in select circles, where expect a speedy imitation of Parisian fashions.

THE introduction of women into the Indiana Asbury University is discussed with much earnestness by the friends of the institution, and the outcry against what is ungallantly called "A feminine invasion," is abundantly noisy.

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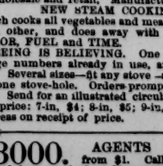

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